Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

European Parliament Adopts Resolution *[TANJUG]* 1
E. European Personalities Attend Brussels Forum *[MTI]* 1

ALBANIA

Shipment of Italian Humanitarian Aid Arrives *[ATA]* 2
Italian Republican Party Leader La Malfa Arrives *[ATA]* 2
Received by President Alia *[ATA]* 2
Meets With Premier Nano *[ATA]* 2
Meets Electoral Commission's Mejdani *[ATA]* 3
Rumors of Opening of SFRY Border Denied *[Tirana Radio]* 3
UN Electoral Officials Arrive *[ATA]* 3
Number of Parties' Electoral Candidates Reported *[ATA]* 4

BULGARIA

Zhelev, Popov, Mutafchiev on Army Discipline *[NARODNA ARMIYA 13 Mar]* 5
Podkrepa's Leader Supports Government *[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK 9 Mar]* 8
Reportage on Vulkov's Visit to FRG *[cross-reference]* 10

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Statement Issued on Havel's Visit to NATO *[CTK]* 11
Reportage on Havel's Visit to Luxembourg, Belgium *[cross-reference]* 11
Klaus Sues Fellow Civic Forum Deputy for Slander *[CTK]* 11
Federal Assembly Passes Media Bill on Radio, TV *[CTK]* 11
Meciar Addresses Slovak National Council *[Bratislava Radio]* 12
Meciar Denies Allegations of Coup Preparations *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 15 Mar]* 15
SNR Presidium Issues Resolution on 'Situation' *[Bratislava Radio]* 15
VPN For Democratic Slovakia Issues Open Letter *[Prague Radio]* 16
Gal Interviewed on Situation in Slovakia *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 14 Mar]* 16
Democratic Party Issues Statement on VPN Crisis *[CTK]* 17
Appeals For Reason, Understanding *[NARODNA OBRODA 14 Mar]* 17
Democratic Left Supports Prime Minister Meciar *[CTK]* 18

HUNGARY

FKgP Member Refutes 'Extreme Right-Wing' Views *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 18 Mar]* 19
FKgP's Torgyan Complains of Party 'Traitors' *[Budapest Radio]* 19
Minister Cites Data on Foreign Economic Relations *[MTI]* 20

POLAND

Three-Day Gdansk Shipyard Strike Ends *[PAP]* 21
Walesa Meets With Brzezinski in Washington *[PAP]* 21
Commentary Views Goals of Walesa's U.S. Visit *[Jen in SLOWO POWSZECHNE 18 Mar]* 21
Sulek Interviewed on Treaty Talks With Germany *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 16-17]* 22
Fourth Round of Treaty Talks With Germany Begin *[PAP]* 23
Official Comments on New 'Defense Doctrine' *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 14 Mar]* 23
Debt Reduction Seen as Success for Reforms *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 16-17 Mar]* 24

Soviet Army Causes Environmental Damage *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 14 Mar]* 24

ROMANIA

Ministers Vatasescu, Stolojan, Zisu Resign *[ROMPRES]* 25
Roman Asks Cabinet Ministers To Stay *[ROMPRES]* 25
TU Protests Price Liberalization, Government *[Bucharest Radio]* 25
March Reaches Cotroceni Palace *[ROMPRES]* 25
Talks With Iliescu Requested *[ROMPRES]* 25
Proposes 'To Rid Country of Communism' *[ROMPRES]* 26
FSN Leaders Have Not Renounced Communism *[Bucharest Radio]* 26
FSN Youth Conference Yields Few Results *[AZI 13 Mar]* 26
Press Reactions to FSN Convention Continue *[ROMPRES]* 27
Poll Shows Majority Trusts Current Leadership *[ROMPRES]* 27
Roman Government Said To Lack Experience *[ROMPRES]* 27
Parties Call For 'Responsible' Government *[ROMPRES]* 28
Energy Sector TU Opposes Price Liberalization *[ROMPRES]* 28
Constituent Assembly Votes on Citizens' Rights *[ROMPRES]* 28
UVR Voices 'Concern' Over Soviet Referendum *[ROMPRES]* 29
New Parties Register at Municipality Tribunal *[ROMPRES]* 29
FUN-Radio Bucharest Stops Broadcasting *[ROMANIA LIBERA 15 Mar]* 29
Industrial Production, Investments Decrease *[ROMPRES]* 29
Prime Minister Receives Head of IMF Mission *[ROMPRES]* 30
Bratianu Liberal Union Criticizes IMF *[ROMPRES]* 30
Spokesman Comments on Soviet Troop Withdrawal *[ROMPRES]* 30
Bessarabia Considered 'Essential Problem' *[ROMPRES]* 30
Chisinau Meeting Held With Moldovan Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 31
Roman Assesses Results of Visit to Chile *[ROMPRES]* 31
Vatasescu Statements on Arrival From Vienna *[ROMPRES]* 31

YUGOSLAVIA

Jovic Explains Reasons for Resignation *[Belgrade Radio]* 32
Mesic Expects Continued Political Complications *[Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG 19 Mar]* 38
Sees 'Suicide' of State Presidency *[BORBA 18 Mar]* 39
Markovic Claims Right To Resign Is Universal *[Belgrade Radio]* 40
POLITIKA Proposes Editorial Changes *[18 Mar]* 41
Army Plans To Resolve Crisis Examined *[VECERNJI LIST 16 Mar]* 42
SDA Criticizes Serbia's 'Cheap Political Aims' *[Belgrade Radio]* 42
Drnovsek Views Country's Future Organization *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 2 Mar]* 42
Reportage on Slovene President Visit to Germany *[cross-reference]* 43
Croatian Government Reviews Federal Obligations *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 4 Mar]* 43
LC-MY Leader Explains Party's Positions *[POBJEDA 3 Mar]* 44

European Parliament Adopts Resolution

LD1503220291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1436 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Strasbourg, March 15 (TANJUG)—The European Parliament Friday [15 March] adoped a resolution calling on Yugoslavia to resolve its political crisis and strictly respect human rights.

The resolution says that this would create conditions for the European Parliament and Yugoslavia to conclude a third financial protocol amounting to 1.1 billion dollars and open talks on an association between the European Community (EC) and Yugoslavia.

European Committee member Bruce Milla said that this body shares the deputies' disquiet about the situation in Yugoslavia, but he stressed that proposals for halting financial cooperation with Yugoslavia would be rejected.

Milla set out that the third financial protocol would probably be signed in May, and verified by the European Parliament in September or October.

The European Parliament voted on two of the resolution's 11 paragraphs before adopting it by acclamation. The resolution was prepared by socialists, christian democrats, liberals, representatives of green parties, the united European left and French De Gaullists.

The paragraph pointing out the devotedness of the European Parliament and other European institutions to the unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, was adopted with 74 votes in favour and 21 against. Those who voted against an integral Yugoslavia were largely extreme rightists.

The paragraph relating to the right of all Yugoslav republics to [words indistinct] their political future "within the internationally recognized borders," was adopted with only one vote against.

The resolution supports the Yugoslav Government's economic reforms and insists on the holding of free multi-party elections on the federal level.

In view of the engagement of the army following the clashes between demonstrators and police in Belgrade on March 9, the European Parliament said that "any attempt to resolve the crisis by using military force would seriously hinder the relations between the European Community and Yugoslavia."

The Parliament condemned "the continued violation of human rights of the ethnic-Albanian community in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo."

While rightists proposed an immediate cessation of all forms of cooperation with Yugoslavia, most deputies assessed that even more ample aid should be granted to the Yugoslav Government's reforms. Some saw in Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic "the only hope for survival of the Yugoslav state."

The deputies voiced much more agreement in view of the situation in Kosovo, strongly criticizing the policy of the Serbian leadership and especially Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Italian communist Rossetti warned of the danger of military intervention. He charged both the Serbian leadership and the policy of the Republic of Croatia, expressing particularly concern over the status and fate of the Italian minority in Croatia.

Support to the Yugoslav Government reforms and interest for preserving the unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia as well as the respect of human rights were voiced both by the deputies to the European Parliament and senior European officials, who today met with Yugoslav Ambassador to the European Community Mihailo Crnobrnja. Crnobrnja also met with leader of European Liberals Giscard d'Esti, members of the European Commission Abel Matutes and Bruce Milla, President of the Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Relations William de Klerk and head of a parliamentary delegation for relations with Yugoslavia Paraskevas Avegelinos.

E. European Personalities Attend Brussels Forum

LD2003094391 Budapest MTI in English 0811 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Brussels, March 20 (MTI)—Presidents Arpad Goncz of Hungary, and Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia, and several other East European personalities attended a public forum on Tuesday, after receiving honorary degrees from the Brussels University.

At the discussion, chaired by Frans Andriessen, member of the European Communities, Commission in Charge of Foreign Relations, most of the questions referred to the relations between the EC and the new democracies.

Arpad Goncz, Vaclav Havel, and Polish politician Bronislaw Geremek Alike noted the efforts of their countries to become full- right members of the communities as soon as possible, and to be able to form an associate relation with the EC prior to January 1, 1992, as a result of the talks now in progress. With respect to the date of membership, Goncz said Hungary would like to join at a time that suits both the communities and Hungary.

Andriessen asked Goncz what he expects from integration into Europe in the cultural area. President Goncz said a two-way road should be created. Another question addressed to the president was what had surprised him since taking office. Goncz termed the level of maturity shown by the Hungarian people amidst the economic difficulties, and the greater than expected flexibility of Hungarian economy last year to be pleasant surprises. Another surprise was the quick end to the Gulf war, and Goncz added it would also come as a surprise were peace to be reached in a similarly short period. However, the president said the quicker than expected collapse of trade between the Central-Eastern European countries was a very unpleasant surprise.

Shipment of Italian Humanitarian Aid Arrives

AU2003205391 Tirana ATA in English 1039 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—The Italian ferryboat "Palladio," which brought the first contingent of the humanitarian aid that the Italian Government has accorded to our country, arrived in Durres port on March 19, before noon. This contingent of 1,004 tons is made up mainly of foodstuffs, as well as of several kinds of medicaments.

On this occasion, present at the seaport was the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Fatmir Minguli, etc., as well as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Torquato Cardilli.

Present in the goods delivery was the chairman of the Civic Commission for their distribution, Aleksander Lipe, as well as the general secretaries of the Ministry of Home Trade and that of Health, Robert Gjini and Lutfi Alia.

The district power organs and the working people of seaport had taken all measures to ensure the necessary means and the stores for the rapid processing and good administration of these goods. The humanitarian aid with foodstuffs and medicaments were unloaded from the ferryboat and will be transported to the destination at the state expenses.

Italian Republican Party Leader La Malfa Arrives

AU2003204091 Tirana ATA in English 0904 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries and of the Albanian Republican Party, the national secretary of the Italian Republican Party, Giorgio La Malfa, arrived on an official and friendly visit to our country.

At the airport he was welcomed by the chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica, and the chairman of the Initiating Commission of the Albanian Republican Party, Sabri Godo.

Present was also Italy's ambassador to Albania, Torquato Cardilli.

Received by President Alia

AU2003210991 Tirana ATA in English 0906 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—On March 19, afternoon, the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, received the national secretary of the Italian Republican Party, Giorgio La Malfa, at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed his joy over meeting with Mr. Giorgio La Malfa after the meetings and talks with other high ranking Italian personalities. This, he pointed out, is an expression of friendship between our two peoples and countries, at a time when the relations between Albania and Italy have gained fresh momentum. Our political vision in this respect should assume fresh dimensions, serving peace and security in the Balkans and broader. There exist close ties between Albania and Italy, Comrade Ramiz Alia underscored, as two neighbouring countries understanding well each other. The Albanian people nourish sentiments of friendship and respect towards the Italian people, which go down in history. Further on he spoke on the processes of democratization of life in our country and on the determination of the people to march onwards on this road. Comrade Ramiz Alia thanked the Italian Government and people for the care shown recently concerning the events in Albania and voiced the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will be further consolidated in the future. He asked Mr. La Malfa to convey his warm greetings and wishes to the President Cossiga and the Premier Andreotti for their contribution to forging ahead the relations between our two countries.

We were very pleased to come to Albania, Mr. Giorgio La Malfa said on his part. We have traditional friendship and are glad that our relations are assuming a fresh and comprehensive development. We are following with interest and attention the democratic developments being carried out in Albania under your leadership in all fields. He voiced the desire of the Italian Government to further develop and strengthen the relations with Albania.

The reception, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere was attended by the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj, and the chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica.

Present was also the ambassador of Italy in our country, Torquato Cardilli.

Meets With Premier Nano

AU2003211091 Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—On March 19, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Fatos Nano, received at the prime minister's seat the national secretary of the Italian Republican Party, Giorgio La Malfa, and had a friendly talk with him.

After bidding welcome and expressing his satisfaction on this meeting, Premier Nano said to the guest from Italy

that the visit of the delegation of the Italian Republican Party is another expression of goodwill of the Italian political personalities to be seriously committed in opening up a new chapter in the relations with Albania. He expressed the gratitude of the Albanian Government for La Malfa's personal contribution to the solution of some humanitarian aspects of the problem of Albanian refugees in the region of Puglia. Let us consider closed the exodus and let us have after this "exoduses" of friendship: all-round bilateral visits, meetings and exchanges, the Albanian premier underscored.

We are committed to respond to the political realism, the Italian Government is manifesting towards the democratizing processes of our society with an all-round promise of bilateral relations, he said.

Giorgio La Malfa stated that he is noticing with special satisfaction Albania's entry in the road of democratic reforms, the intensification of its international contacts, etc. He spoke of the long history of joint Albanian-Italian contacts. Our two neighbouring peoples, La Malfa emphasized, cherish mutual sympathy. Our duty is to preserve these warm sentiment existing in Italy on Albania, to consolidate it in order to serve the further promotion of cooperation in all fields. I personally, as Euro-deputy, have noticed such a sympathy towards the Albanian people in the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

Premier Fatos Nano briefed Giorgio La Malfa on various problems of the present situation in Albania, the economic difficulties, the measures and projects to overcome them. He spoke also on the measures adopted for the normal conduct of the first multiparty elections of March 31.

On his part, Giorgio La Malfa said that in the context of the good relations of economic cooperation which are being consolidated, I hope that this cooperation be materialized as soon as possible with the setting up of the joint ventures and other forms of cooperation.

During the meeting they talked also on problems of the development of the events in Europe, concentrating on the obstacles the European states are faced with in their efforts to be integrated as a result of the complex situation in the Balkans. Both parties shared the opinion that the mounting of tension in this region does not serve the tendencies to the democratization of the life in Europe and broader. Likewise they assessed that the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between Albania and the U.S.A. will contribute to the stabilization of the situation in the Balkans.

Present at the reception were the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic in Tirana, Torquato Cardilli.

After the talk with Giorgio La Malfa, the premier, Fatos Nano, answered the questions of the Italian journalists.

Meets Electoral Commission's Mejdani

AU2003211191 Tirana ATA in English 1859 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—The chairman of the Central Election Commission, Prof. Dr. Rexhep Mejdani, received the national secretary of the Italian Republican Party, Giorgio La Malfa, on March 20.

During the talk, he acquainted the guest from Italy with the Election Law, the composition of the Central Election Commission, and of the local commissions, which are pluralist, their hitherto activity for the normal conduct of the March 31 elections, etc. Likewise, Prof. Dr. Rexhep Mejdani responded to the interest taken by Mr. La Malfa in the financial support of various parties by the state for the hitherto stage of the campaign, the possibilities created to them for the election campaign in the mass media, especially on the TV, etc. Rexhep Mejdani underscored that both the financial support and the equal timing at their disposal by the TV are defined and guaranteed by law.

Rumors of Opening of SFRY Border Denied

AU2003211891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] The Council of Ministers' Press and Information Directorate reports that rumors are circulating in some villages in the border region of Maqellare claiming that the Albanian-Yugoslav border will be opened on Saturday to permit the inhabitants of border regions to go to market in the neighboring country. To prevent unpleasant border incidents entailing consequences, we consider it necessary to explain that there is no change in the border controls either on the Albanian or the Yugoslav side. Albanian citizens who wish to go to Diber e Madhe [Debar] or its surrounding districts must have Albanian passports and Yugoslav visas. So far, all Albanian citizens who have illegally crossed the border in this region have been returned by the Yugoslavs within 24 hours. These authorities have informed the Albanian side that in the future, too, people will be not allowed to break the border regulations. Border guards and the forces for the maintenance of order in the region in question have taken every measure to ensure the rigorous enforcement of our laws and to prevent rising tensions in the country and violations of the relations of good-neighborliness between Albania and Yugoslavia.

UN Electoral Officials Arrive

AU2003205291 Tirana ATA in English 1907 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a group of UN experts, who will contribute, through consultations, to various problems related to the organisation and holding of March 31 elections in our country, arrived to our country on March 20.

The group is composed of: Jean Paul Costa, state counsellor, professor of international law in the Orleans University, France, UN expert; Michael Hiden, professor of constitutional law in the Helsinki University, UN expert; Michael Stopford, UN chief of cabinet in Geneva; Judith Edrich, assistant of the UN vice-secretary-general for human rights in Geneva.

At the airport, the group of experts was met by representatives of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Number of Parties' Electoral Candidates Reported

AU2003203591 Tirana ATA in English 1902 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—The Central Commission of Elections to the People's Assembly, presided over by its chairman, Prof. Dr. Rexhep Mejdani, convened today on March 20, to get acquainted with the necessary legal documents on the registration of candidates for deputies to the People's Assembly of the 12th Legislature, to be voted for on March 31, 1991.

1,074 candidacies for deputies to the People's Assembly, proposed by the election subjects and separate citizens have been forwarded and registered in the 250 election precincts.

The Agrarian Party has forwarded candidacies for deputies to the People's Assembly in 37 precincts, the Democratic Party in 250 precincts, the Ecological Party in 2 precincts, the Party of Labour in 243 precincts, the Republican Party in 165 precincts, the Women's Union in 72 precincts, the Trade Unions in 106 precincts, the Youth Union in 94 precincts, the Democratic Front in 122 precincts, the National Veterans' Committee in 7 precincts, the Omonia Organisation in 5 zones, and there are 17 independent candidates in 16 precincts. A part of the above candidacies have been forwarded and registered jointly by some election subjects in 46 precincts conform the demands of the laws on elections.

The Central Election Commission appeals to all the electors and subjects to commit themselves seriously in applying the requests of the law on elections to the People's Assembly in order to guarantee general, equal, direct and secret voting in the conditions of the deepening of the all-round democratization of the country and of the political multiparty system.

Zhelev, Popov, Mutafchiev on Army Discipline

AU2003134291 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Mar 91 pp 1, 3

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Sotirov and Captain Krasen Buchkov: "The Truth About Discipline, Only the Truth, Nothing But the Truth"]

[Excerpts] A meeting of the Bulgarian People's Army command staff on problems of discipline was held yesterday at the G.S. Rakovski Military Academy in Sofia. It was attended by President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, and Ivan Nevrokopski, member of the legislature and chairman of the Legislative National Security Commission. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Colonel General Ivan Mutafchiev stated the following in opening the meeting: The leadership of the Ministry of Defense is convinced that the present state of discipline is increasingly obstructing the accomplishment of the tasks related to the combat readiness of the troops and to the democratization of Army life. The steadily growing negative trends have deteriorated to a level beyond which the Bulgarian Army will no longer be capable of exerting its functions related to guaranteeing the country's national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the peaceful transition to a democratic society.

The most alarming fact is that the attitude of the Army personnel to military duty has changed and that the soldiers' motivation and their moral-psychological state of mind have been affected. The increasing trend toward irresponsibility that is spreading among part of the officers and sergeants in connection with their military functions and duties is alarming. In certain units the military code of regulations is no longer regarded as the basic guideline for Army life. We are greatly concerned about recurrent serious incidents involving assassinations, cases of suicide, and various accidents during exercises, and about the increasing number of motor vehicle accidents and road accidents causing the loss of human lives. The breaches of discipline that are usually of a criminal, or almost criminal nature, are becoming more and more frequent. The cases of misappropriation of material and financial resources, of thefts, and squandering public property have drastically increased. The quality of the training process in the Army is further deteriorating. A large portion of the military personnel has become convinced that the observance of the military secret is no longer necessary under the conditions of democratization and glasnost.

The leadership of the Ministry of Defense is seriously concerned about the fact that numerous commanders and officers underestimate the series of new phenomena and processes in the sphere of discipline that have occurred in recent years. The concealed, but nonetheless existing political demoralization and the growing tensions within the military collectives, based on political and sometimes ethnic controversies, resulted in a deterioration of personal relations within the Army.

All these circumstances may be attributed to the totally different situation that resulted from the elimination of socialism as a social system and to the profound crisis involving the Eastern European countries, to the fact that political factors are now prevailing in interstate relations, and that the Warsaw Pact military organization has ceased to exist.

The low standard of political culture, the prevalence of political passions over national ideals, and the extreme polarization, along with a growing crime rate, black market, thefts, drug addiction, and prostitution not only directly influence the Army, but have seriously affected the annual intake of soldiers. Under these circumstances, considering the negative phenomena that have accumulated and were passed over in silence in our country over the years, phenomena resulting from the bureaucratic command-administrative system and the unresolved problems of discipline are drastically manifesting themselves along with the new problems that are currently emerging. Part of the commanders and officers's staff, even at the top level, seems incapable of working under the new conditions.

Minister Mutafchiev pointed out that the attitude toward discipline must drastically change today and that all regulations related to discipline should be amended in accordance with the new requirements.

Throughout many years the concept of discipline was mainly connected with the service men obeying orders of their superior officers. Despite the fact that discipline was supposed to be based on individual awareness, the soldiers' discipline was in fact mainly achieved by coercive methods that in the majority of cases evoked fear and paralyzed all creative impulses and initiative. Along with the Constitution, the Law on General Military Service and the all-Army statutes, numerous orders and instructions were applied in the Army that sometimes contradicted each other, or prompted breaches of discipline. A typical example in this respect was the illegal prolongation of the military service for regular service men by three months, the arbitrary appointment of Army personnel members to round the clock duty that was not provided for in the regulations, and the overtaxing and unsafe exploitation of soldiers' labor in private construction that diverted them from their regular duties. All this undermined the commanders's authority and prestige as chief promoters of discipline and, to a great extent, undermined their responsibility for the state of discipline.

If we are sincerely resolved to rescue discipline from its present desolate situation, we should begin by forming a new approach to its essence and substance, and integrate this approach in the legal documents that we are currently drafting. **Colonel General Mutafchiev further pointed out that the practical orientation, the specific nature, and the effectiveness of command and organizational work should be drastically improved.** Many correct decisions were adopted in the past regarding discipline.

Nevertheless, the personal contribution of senior commanders and chiefs to the implementation of such decisions in army life was totally unsatisfactory. It frequently happened that the commanders, as a result of their personal views, way of life, and behavior jeopardized even their own decisions. Serious damage was caused by the fact that this category of commanders separated itself from the life and social needs of their subordinates. Their habit of communicating with personnel through mediators and their trend of listening only to information that pleased them, their taking advantage of their official status for personal benefits also undermined discipline. Last but not least, this controversial behavior of commanders was one of the main reasons for the accumulation of numerous, crucial problems. Work with the Army personnel plays an important role in matters of discipline. The soldiers have strictly defined rights, obligations, and responsibilities that should be taken into consideration. The most important thing is to respect every soldier as a human being. The chief element of our work with the personnel—from the general to the soldier—should be to achieve their full equality before the law and the military code.

One of the most important trends of our future work should be to finally overcome the negative influence exerted by the organizational, payroll, and structural changes upon discipline in the Army and the negative results of the overall Army personnel cuts.

The social problems of the military personnel assumed a particularly crucial importance in 1990. As a result of the new conditions, this problem became a decisive factor influencing the thoughts, behavior, and motivations of the officers and sergeants regarding with the implementation of their tasks. The already low social status of the soldiers gradually deteriorted over the last decades. They were deprived of numerous civil rights, such as housing property, material incentives for additional work, additional incomes, compensations, and others. The state services and the higher echelons of the ruling party carefully avoided dealing with the problems of the military personnel, while the Ministry of Defense leadership treated them with prejudice. As a matter of fact, the ministrty did not promptly react to the increasing needs of the personnel and to the emerging trends. Even the most harmless effort of raising the question about an improvement of the Army personnel's material situation was denounced as a manifestation of petty bourgeois attitude and outdated capitalist mentality. The traditional response to such justified demands usually limited itself to reciting slogans in praise of the officers' noble profession, patriotism, and military duty. For this reason, the general solution of the problems is impossible without confirming on a legal basis the commitments assumed toward the military personnel by society as a whole and by individual institutions, particularly in connection with safeguarding national security that also involves the guarantee for the social status of the soldiers.

Further work with cadres is also a very important trend of our future activities, Mutafchiev pointed out. The policy applied in dealing with military cadres that was conducted throughout the years was essentially double-faced, which considerably undermined discipline. Numerous cadres were promoted on the basis of their personal loyalty to their commanders, on the basis of personal ambitions, on the basis of family and friendship ties, or for excelling in political work, rather than for their professional skill and moral virtues. This is how incompetent people, people lacking in professional and military experience, deprived of leadership qualities in Army life and in dealing with their subordinates—and sometimes even people with negative personal characteristics—were promoted to high-ranking commanding posts.

The irreplaceability of certain high-ranking commanders also greatly affected the normal development of officers' careers and permitted commanders to surround themselves with their own people and impose a style of work serving their own interests.

We resolutely denounce this distorted approach that was practiced in work with the Army personnel in the past, Mutafchiev pointed out. In our future personnel policy we shall firmly rely on contracts and competitive principles in accordance with which only cadres who have given proof of their highly professional qualifications, their necessary organizational skills, their personal charisma, and moral standards of behavior will be promoted to high-ranking posts in the Army. We are convinced that along with promoting highly qualified and skilled cadres, we should resolutely and uncompromisingly dismiss incompetent officers and retire those who have served their purpose.

We should not delude ourselves that discipline can be improved merely on the basis of laws, statutes, and instruction, irrespective of their effectiveness. This obliges us to concentrate our efforts on the people, on the entire Army personnel. We should devote our entire educational work to this task. It is high time to stop underestimating this urgent task resulting from the current circumstances, to reassess the role of educational work in improving the moral and psychological state of mind and the discipline of the Army personnel and to teach ourselves and our subordinates how to adopt a new approach to discipline. It is high time to learn how to promote discipline in connection with the new requirements of the Army with competence and with a sense of responsibility, Mutafchiev stated in closing his introductory address. [passage omitted] **Prime Minister Dimitur Popov stated as follows in his address: I came with particular interest to this meeting. The subjects treated in the report are described accurately and I was impressed by the sincerity, objectivity, and outspoken disclosure of facts that permitted us to understand them in their real context. The problems are serious, but we can also detect an optimistic note in the report. It is related to the methods and ideas for a decisive improvement of discipline within the Army.** Naturally, this question not only concerns the Army, but all our society because we have no right to separate the Army from the people. The more so,

because the questions of discipline and of your tasks cannot be regarded separately from the revolutionary nature of the peaceful transition to democracy, to an independent, rule-of-law state. We should ask ourselves: Is discipline a function, or a factor? Several arguments were cited in favor of both concepts. I think that the question should be considered under two aspects. We should eliminate all negative factors that influence discipline, but we should also transform discipline into a factor of progress.

I do not deny that discipline and the country's sociopolitical life are interrelated and dependent on each other. I do not accept the argument, however, that the present circumstances and the general crisis involving the country, in particular, are the only factors determining the state of discipline.

The objective reality in our country as it exists today is the result of a very negative inheritance. We are in the process of doing away with this negative inheritance. I would like to stress in particular that peaceful transition to a new order of things cannot be implemented without the stabilizing influence of the Bulgarian Army. The Army should behave with dignity and inspire optimism. Optimism is justified because we have embarked upon the path of a better society, and this is the right time for every honest Bulgarian citizen to assume his civic duty.

We were on the brink of disaster, but you, the Bulgarian officers, are not responsible for this; therefore, your pessimism is not justified.

I am aware of the fact that nihilism and the lack of national ideals exert a negative effect upon the Bulgarian soldier's state of mind, but we must free ourselves of such attitudes. We are striving for a free and democratic state, we are working for a total dismantling of the totalitarian structures. I am convinced that our motherland shall become a highly developed, constitutional state. God has given us sufficient assets for this and the Bulgarian people are industrious.

The Bulgarian officers must find their place in this new society that we are building. They are no mere civil servants, their service is their mission and their fate. Both our soldiers and officers must devote their loyalty to the motherland and be ready and proud of fulfilling their obligations.

It is true that many problems related to your social status and your material security are still unresolved, but they shall be settled. The housing question, for example, on which we have already prepared a ministerial decree, will be resolved in the most satisfactory manner for all sides. The Bulgarian officer cannot live like a nomad. I would not like to criticize, but I am convinced that you fully realize why you happen to be in such a situation.

We live in an epoch of realities: The Warsaw Pact no longer exists, but the Paris documents signed in November 1990 are a fact. Regardless of all this, the Bulgarian Army must be strong and in a state of full combat readiness because it is a factor of security in which the people can confide and which they can rely upon. The people will never forget that not only the Constitution and our laws, but also the stability of the Army play an important role in maintaining law and order in our society, the prime minister stated in closing his address. [passage omitted]

President Zhelyu Zhelev, in his address, did not dwell on any specific methods of strengthening discipline in the Army, having pointed out at the very beginning of his statement that experts on this subject are among the participants in the meeting and only they are capable of finding an appropriate solution of the problem. The president extensively analyzed the country's domestic situation and of the international factors influencing our security. He stated the following in this connection: The economic reform is in full swing and its initial stage already affected us in a drastic manner. Prices have escalated to an extent that even the government did not suspect. The interest rate has greatly increased. Foreign currency controls have relaxed. The laws related to privatization are another aspect of the reform. I dare say that the recently adopted Law on the Land is the most radical law of this kind in Eastern Europe and provides a reliable guarantee for the implementation of the reform. Naturally, a code of regulations for the application of the Land Law is now urgently required. We also badly need some unconventional agricultural equipment, such as small size and all-purpose machinery. We are expected to pass new bills on trade activities, foreign investements, and privatization in the near future. The drafting of a new, democratic Bulgarian Constitution is also in progress; therefore, in summing up all these positive facts, we can say that things are proceeding at a normal pace in accordance with the experts' forecasts. The foreign political events are exerting a very strong influence on the problems of our Army, the president said. The Warsaw Pact and CEMA have disintegrated, and judging from the current trends, the USSR also seems to be disintegrating, or, at least it will no longer exist in the present form. Perhaps it will continue to exist as an economic community composed of separate states. Naturally, numerous other problems should be pointed out in this connection, such as the problem of nuclear weapons that greatly complicates a future solution. In saying all this I fully realize that this is a purely domestic issue concerning the USSR alone. It affects our country in as far as we are obliged to seek new guarantees for our national security. The question of guarantees is determined by events in the Balkans: The presumable disintegration of Yugoslavia, the situation in Serbia, and the current tension in Macedonia play an important role in this respect. Serbia is once more trying to blame its domestic problems on the influence of alleged interference from abroad that is absolutely unjustified. We are also concerned about the current tension in Albania. As a result of the Persian Gulf war Turkey's position has been greatly strengthened, including the military aspect. Considering all these circumstances, where should we seek the guarantees for our national security?

I am talking about political guarantees in the first place: Such guarantees at the all-European level are provided by the documents signed at the Paris meeting in November 1990 and by our future integration with all European structures. In the second place, such guarantees should be provided by the decisive improvement of relations with our neighbors to which we are devoting increasing attention. Our relations with Greece are exceptionally good. We would like to establish the same kind of relations with Turkey. I dare say that they are in the process of development and that we are interested in improving our relations with Turkey in all spheres, the military sphere included. I am at liberty to state that we are ready to sign a military treaty with Turkey, which should not be directed against any other state, of course.

The question of our relations with Yugoslavia is more complicated, but this is not our fault. As I already stated, Serbia is trying to shift the blame from the guilty to the innocent. Nevertheless, it is by no means our intention to take advantage of Serbia's difficulties, which are entirely its own domestic affair.

Is it possible, in view of all these circumstances, not to seek any specific military guarantees for our security? I repeat again that I am no expert on such matters, however, we must maintain our Armed Forces and their armament at the necessary qualitative and quantitative level of reasonable defense sufficiency. I would like to stress that the political forces and the state leadership in our country have an unmistakable and categorical stand on this issue.

The president further focused on certain domestic aspects related to the ethnic tension in certain areas of the country. Such tensions are dangerous because they are likely to undermine our national security from the inside, to arrest the progress of democratic changes, and to affect our international prestige. This problem cannot be resolved by force, because force would involve disaster. Violence generates only violence, coercion leads to coercion, and discrimination results in further discrimination. I think that none of those attending our meeting today has forgetten the regretful experience of Todor Zhivkov's era. How should the problem be resolved? There is only one solution in my opinion—namely, the method of radical democratization guaranteeing everyone's human rights. I am aware of the fact that all this frightens the Bulgarians living in the area with mixed ethnic population, and I admit that their fear is presumably justified to a certain extent. Nevertheless, they should have confidence in the strength of our Bulgarian roots, in our people's cultural traditions, and in the possibility of living together without conflicts and without any serious problems.

The country's decisive democratization should be the key to the solution of this particular problem and of all other issues. The democratization process should be promptly and comprehensively completed considering, that Bulgaria's prestige in the Balkans depends on it and by keeping in mind that the Balkans are expected to become a dangerous area within the forthcoming years. **For this reason, precisely, we should promptly build a strong, prosperous, and democratic Bulgaria capable of playing an important, political, economic, cultural, and military role in the center of the peninsula. Let us be sensible at least for once, let us not miss the chance that history is offering us. Sufficient guarantees of success exist in this respect: Let us only mention the Bulgarian people's characterist features, such as their industriousness and spirit of enterprise, and last, but not least, let us not forget the favorable natural conditions with which our country is blessed.** Let us build up new Bulgaria with joint efforts. Let the Bulgarian Army, as in the past, never prevent the Bulgarian people's progress toward a democratic society, President Zhelev declared in the final portion of his address.

Defense Minister Mutafchiev delivered a closing statement. He defined specific tasks for the implementation of the ideas, expressed at the meeting, in Army life by stressing that a change of the commanders' approach to educational work should be regarded as the main task. The development of new criteria for the soldiers' values and motivations should be the chief target of future work. The General Staff is expected to take a stand on the questions discussed at the meeting and sum up the positive elements contained in the various statements by drafting a document that should be disseminated to all units and subunits by 29 March 1991.

The conference closed. What happens will first depend on the commanders; will the conference produce any results by becoming a point of departure for improving the state of discipline, or will it only produce hot air and be remembered as a well organized, formal event for the Army records. It will depend on all of us who are wearing the military uniform and care for our beloved, long-suffering motherland that is striving for a better future.

Podkrepa's Leader Supports Government

AU1903152991 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 9 Mar 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation, by Khristo Karlukovski; place and date not given: "Podkrepa Supports the Government"]

[Excerpts] [Karlukovski] At first glance our country's development is proceeding smoothly. Would you, nonetheless, try to describe the dangerous traps that one should avoid to guarantee Bulgaria's rescue from disaster?

[Trenchev] It is difficult to answer this question in a brief and clear manner. The difficulties stem from the fact that we cannot reform society, we must radically change it. We should change all structures of our society and their interrelations considering that they are the results of a theory and practice in the name of which millions of human beings were destroyed. The theory that claimed to know the whole truth and the answer to all questions, and the practice under which the term "conflict" used to

be resolved by force, should be changed. The whole society, structure after structure, was established with an unbelievable force of coercion in the past. Under the pressure of history, however, that society has disintegrated. We are now trying to create a totally different system. Nevertheless, the transition from the old and the new system is a painful process, because numerous forces are trying to prevent it. They will sooner or later understand that the new system is inevitable. [passage omitted] No matter how controversial it may sound, we should admit that we, the opposition, had no sufficient time to organize our ranks in the true sense of the term. We had no time to cultivate leaders of national stature, at least not in a sufficient number. We had no time to set up efficient working teams who, in this difficult period of transition, would persevere with the courage of the past and pursue their progress into the future. The Bulgarian opposition was established much too late and is composed of different ideological currents. It rallied under an umbrella organization—the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. For a certain period everything proceeded smoothly, but in the meantime the alliance began to turn into an obstacle for the trends forming in our society. Let me sum up: The immaturity and lack of decision and the ideological difference within the opposition also prevent the accelerated introduction of the new system.

Other forces likely to delay the progress of change exist outside the country. It is possible that the specific situation that existed in Bulgaria obstructed the organization of forces outside the country. For the sake of the truth, we should admit that the conflicts within the country were reflected by those Bulgarians who emigrated; they are also divided. This group is characterized by internal struggles that never subsided throughout the period of exile. As a result, we cannot rely on any substantial assistance from abroad. The third group of factors—namely the observers on the sidelines such as the Western governments, Western parties, and organizations— in watching the distribution of forces in our country's political spectrum, also became rather diffident in our view.

If we are really striving for a radical change in Bulgaria we should take all the aforementioned circumstances into consideration. We should systematically, resolutely, and courageously work for a change despite the unfavorable starting point, which does not seem very promising for the democratic process.

The subjective factors are numerous. They are rooted in our people's psychology, in the lack of democratic traditions, in the weakness of the church as a conservative institution, as a protector of the Bulgarian spirit. Along with this, we should remember the extremely grave consequences of the repressive regime that established itself following the events of 9 September 1944. We must point out the role of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its policy, which divided the people and managed to separate part of the intelligentsia from the people and to corrupt it. [passage omitted]

[Karlukovski] Your organization rallies nearly half a million members. It influences the activities of the triad composed of the Council of Ministers, the Grand National Assembly, and the president's office. To what extent is this influence in conformity with the requirements for the democratization of society and what are the factors that obstruct this process?

[Trenchev] The triad, as you call it, exists, but I would say that its components are the real and urgently required prerequisites for coping with the current situation. Let us take the Grand National Assembly, for example. This institution does not reflect the country's real situation because of the peculiar distribution of forces prevailing in it. I would even say that the Grand National Assembly appears as an institution that strives to preserve the old order, instead of being a promoter of the new one. We have no experienced, popular politicians, which conveys the impression that the difficulties obstructing the work of the National Assembly are of a personal nature. All speakers in the National Assembly repeat the same things all over again. Generally speaking, the institution is not functioning properly.

The president's office has no traditions to rely upon, it has no clearly defined prerogatives. It might play an important role in our public life, but it seems to avoid getting too involved. The presidential institution still seeks its place in political life.

The Council of Ministers is the most active institution. I have the impression that the government is really working hard and that its members are resolved to accomplish something.

[Karlukovski] This, above all, is what Bulgaria needs today.

[Trenchev] Yes, indeed. We closely cooperate with the cabinet. Our relations with the government are multifarious. The Council of Ministers' work is obstructed by numerous forces that are trying to prevent the reform. If the Grand National Assembly is one of the obstacles delaying the progress of the reform (which is confirmed by the legislature's working schedule on debating and passing bills), another negative force, which has so far been underestimated, exists. I would call it the industrial nomenklatura. This is where the decisive battle is taking place at this moment. This is the main obstacle to the progress of the reform. The nomenklatura has numerous ways and means for achieving its goal. We are the natural allies of the government in the struggle against the economic nomenklatura. We realize how difficult it is to accomplish the reform. The reform will produce its results in the future. We cannot and should not expect immediate results. Unfortunately, however, the industrial nomenklatura is trying by all means to undermine the reform and in this context it appears as our and the government's common enemy.

[Karlukovski] Is it possible to hold the upcoming local government and National Assembly elections within the

scheduled deadlines that are being discussed? What is your forecast on the final results?

[Trenchev] I am convinced that new elections are absolutely required. This is our only chance to put things right. As far as my personal opinion is concerned, I support general elections—namely simultaneous legislative and local elections. Nevertheless, I admit that several other opinions exist that do not lack a certain objective justification. I think that our people are sufficiently mature about parting with their past, therefore, they could do it at once.

A remarkable feature of our current political life is the drop in the rating of political forces that applies both to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and to the SDS. It means that there is something wrong about our development. If we are really resolved to win the elections, and I am convinced that history has chosen us for this role, many things should be improved. [passage omitted]

The different political currents within the SDS prevented us from adopting a strictly specified doctrine. The majority of the people who are currently reluctant to vote are SDS constituents. They could be attracted by a serious right-wing platform but not by a left-wing one. People wish to hear the truth and to be shown a path that they may follow with confidence. In other words, there is a vast right-of-center, free territory that the opposition must conquer. The SDS allowed more left-wing trends to prevail in its platform during the last election campaign. No matter how paradoxical this may sound, I am convinced that we must first create a solid and healthy society before we let it shift toward a left-wing trend. The social democratic idea is made for affluent societies. We still face the problem of creating prerequisites for the structures of effective production. The results of production used to the benefit of society will be the basis on which the state can decide about a socially just distribution. In this context it would be more realistic to expect a neo-conservative trend of development.

Reportage on Vulkov's Visit to FRG

WA2003180691

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov to Germany, including reports on his talks with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, see the Germany section of the 20 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Statement Issued on Havel's Visit to NATO

LD2103105691 Prague CTK in English 0832 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—"Czechoslovakia sees the key elements of the European architecture in the CSCE, the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Alliance, the European Communities and the Western European Union", says a statement issued by the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry on the occasion of President Vaclav Havel's visit to the NATO headquarters today.

"Czechoslovakia is prepared to work together with NATO to strengthen the CSCE process and make it more effective so that it can play an increasingly important role in safeguarding security on the continent.... It is determined in the spirit of the conclusions set forth in the London declaration of NATO and in documents of the Paris summit of the CSCE to build new partnerships with NATO, to deepen their dialogue on security matters, to develop broader and more active exchanges and cooperation on issues of common concern, including NATO's third dimension programs, particularly in the fields of science and technology. Czechoslovakia expresses the conviction that the transformation processes within NATO will open up new possibilities in building new structures in security and cooperation in Europe", the statement says.

According to it, the interest of NATO member states in developing freedom, democracy and prosperity is a significant factor of security in Central and Eastern Europe. Czechoslovakia considers it one of important guarantees of success of the effort to become part of integrated Europe. Stability in this region at the same time contributes to security of the NATO countries.

Reportage on Havel's Visit to Luxembourg, Belgium

WA2003175091

For reportage on the visit by President Vaclav Havel to Luxembourg and Belgium, including reports on his talks with Luxembourg Prime Minister Jacques Santer and Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, see the Benelux section of the 19 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Klaus Sues Fellow Civic Forum Deputy for Slander

AU2003152991 Prague CTK in English 1331 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 18 (CTK)— Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus filed a charge against Federal Assembly Deputy Milos Zeman for slander.

Zeman was quoted in today's issue of "MLADA FRONTA DNES" daily as saying at Saturday's meeting in the North Moravian town of Ostrava that Klaus had been lecturing Slovak Communists until shortly after November 17, 1989 (overthrow of Communist regime in Czechoslovakia).

In a statement, given to CTK today, Klaus says that he has never and nowhere been lecturing Slovak Communists, neither before nor after November 17.

Klaus and Zeman used to be colleagues in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Forecasting Institute. Zeman has criticized Klaus a couple of times and is known as his opponent as far as several aspects of economic reform are concerned. Since summer 1990, Zeman has been the chairman of the Committee for Planning and Budget of the House of Nations (one of two houses of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly). Both are deputies of the Federal Assembly for the Civic Forum (OF).

Milos Zeman told CTK today his alleged statement over which Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said he would sue him for slander was a misquote.

Zeman said he was asked at the meeting in Ostrava why Klaus was not in Prague on November 17, 1989. "I answered that Vaclav Klaus was not in Prague because he... was giving a lecture at the building of the Slovak Communist Party District Committee in Kosice. I do not regard this statement as equivalent to: he lectured to Slovak Communists," Zeman said.

November 17, 1989, was the day of a police attack on a student demonstration which touched off public protests against the Communist regime. The Civic Forum was formed within a week and Vaclav Klaus was present at some of its first improvised press conferences together with Vaclav Havel, Jiri Dienstbier, Petr Miller, and other persons now in top government posts.

Federal Assembly Passes Media Bill on Radio, TV

LD2003153391 Prague CTK in English 1429 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 20 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak parliament today passed a bill defining the powers of the federation, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in the press and other media. The bill will enable the Czech and Slovak parliaments to pass their own laws regarding radio, television and news agencies, which will thus become legal persons. It provides for the setting up of radio and TV companies or agencies not run by the state. Federal bodies will determine the principles of state policy in relation to the media upon an agreement with republic bodies which will have a right of veto, and grant licences for radio and TV broadcasts and agency services covering the whole federation.

The Parliament (Federal Assembly) approved agreements on preventing double taxation between Cechoslovakia and the United Kingdom and between Czechoslovakia and Tunisia.

Explaining the two agreements, Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said Czechoslovakia has 19 similar agreements that are in force. He said Czechoslovakia's trade turn-over with Britain now amounts to 713 million dollars, with Czechoslovak imports amounting to 367 million and exports to 346 million dollars. As many as 67 companies with British capital participation operate in Czechoslovakia at present. Czechoslovakia's trade with Tunisia reached a volume of only 24.5 million dollars last year, with Czechoslovakia having achieved high assets.

Meciar Addresses Slovak National Council

LD2003210591 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1603 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Speech by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar at the Slovak National Council session in Bratislava on 20 March—live]

[Excerpts] I should like to assure the chairman that I will never be a minister in this government. [sentence as heard] As to questions that are the topic of deliberations of the Slovak National Council [SNR] today, I apologize for my address, but [words indistinct].

There are several problems here that emerge in connection with this discussion. The idea is to establish what kind of role should be played by citizens in the entire control mechanism of society. Citizens are dissatisfied. They interpret their viewpoints; they want to turn to their deputies and ask: Which ones are ours? What is the control mechanism between the citizen and the deputy, what is the possibility of checking him, what is the possibility of his being recalled in this system? It does not exist. That is why they are reacting the way they are reacting. They express their views spontaneously; they are awaiting conclusions; they are awaiting that they will behave politically in the way their reason, their hearts, and their life experiences tell them.

We are finding that there is a gap that the future democratic order will have to do away with, as well as a method in political decisionmaking to which—despite many protests received by the SNR, as well as the Government of the Republic—no one reacts. People have to be told what is happening, why it is happening, and why this situation has emerged. [passage omitted]

Why is it being carried to the SNR? Why should you deputies make decisions on a matter about which you were not informed? Why should you proceed from general information, without established concrete offenders responsible for specific deeds? Why should it be you who are misused to decide whether Meciar is guilty or innocent on the issue where the guilt is still to be established? I think this is an action that should not take place and that should not be endorsed. It is turning out that in the whole dispute that is arising here, the thing that is missing is humanity, tolerance, agreement, and understanding, although we keep talking about it everywhere. We find ourselves in a situation about which you might not even be aware, but about which I must tell you and remind you and remind you very sharply. The part of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement that has remained—they consider themselves to be the genuine ones—has said that the other part, which also claims allegiance to the VPN movement and is seeking joint paths, is illegal. Thus the VPN deputies, who are in this room and who represent certain numerical strengths, have been labeled illegal.

Esteemed deputies! There is a habit in the Slovak tradition that the prime minister and the SNR chairman come from the party and movement with the majority of members in the legislature. If the VPN movement insists that all who formed the Movement for Democratic Slovakia are illegal, then we shall arrive at the situation that the Christian Democratic Movement will become the strongest party and movement. On the basis of our legislative traditions, to which we are laying foundations, it would thus gain the right to have the prime minister and the SNR chairman and the right to carry out corresponding changes in the structure of these bodies. We are heading for this situation, and if in a short time the VPN does not change its position, there will be no other option left. The numbers, the mathematics, and the data known to me say that this is what the effect on the legislature will be like. By doing this, a certain group of people behind the scenes manipulates the history and proportion of forces that have developed after the elections.

In this connection there is also the question of checking on members of the government and the accountability of a member of the government. I reject the idea of rendering accounts to a political body, whatever it is. I mean this as a prime minister. As a member of the movement, I would submit myself under its control, because members of this movement are also in this legislature; furthermore, the legal mechanism is construed in such a way that I am accountable to this legislature. I am accountable to the Presidium of the legislature. [applause]

I am prime minister of a coalition government. I am responsible for the implementation of the coalition program of the government. Can I eradicate the Christian Democrats from this program? To say: I am here for VPN and you do not interest me? I cannot do this; it would not be responsible behavior on my part toward them, because they are a part of the governmental policy. I am also responsible for my duty toward them.

Can I behave in this way to the Democratic Party? No, I cannot. [passage omitted]

Regarding the issues of other mechanisms that are being created here, the question is where a decision should be made about the policy of the SNR. It is up to the SNR to decide who is going to be the prime minister and the members of the government. Suddenly we hear from abroad that all this has been settled, even before the Presidium went into session, and a minister of the

federal government announces in Belgium that Meciar will be recalled [words indistinct] and everything will be settled within a fortnight. Whom did they ask? Which Slovak body? Who is then the creator of politics? You or somebody else? [applause]

The situation is similar elsewhere, too. Yes I have been criticized that I am breaking up Czech-Slovak relations and that I am also breaking up the relations with the federation. I have not spoken on these issues since the adotion of the law on the division of power, but can we say what am I breaking up? We adopted a law on division of powers, and it is a law for everybody. This means that the law applies also to the members of the federal government. The federal minister of interior is a Slovak. He, however, has still not transferred the powers into Slovakia according to the law. The minister of foreign trade has said how much he has already done for the nation in his 43 days in the government [laughter and applause], but when I asked him to respect the law on division of power, he refused to do it and transfer the powers.

We have unsettled financial accounts with the federal government—equal to 3 billion. We have been told that this will be discussed after the Czech Government asks for it. I know the Czech Government has said it will not make a request like that. This, however, is a financial obligation that is connected with orders and obligations, which the federal bodies made in the sections that were under their control and that are now under the control of the Slovak Government.

A constitution is being prepared. It is true that, regarding the constitution, I hold a view that is clear and exact and is in harmony with the policy statement of the government. I might not be a prime minister, but I will never permit myself to fail to fulfill the policy statement of the government; and the view of the federal prime minister is indifferent to me as well as the view of any Czech politican on this topic, because my task is to defend the interest that you entrusted in me. If I do not want to do this, then I have no job in this office. This, however, has not happened so far. [applause]

It is typical that I am a prime minister who was preparing the bill of the constitution in the government—and we also went to present it to you, the SNR. (?I have a nonpolitical) [word indistinct] (?to develop legal initiative)—the government has a right to propose bills of law, but as a prime minister, while I was still obedient, I was not allowed to do this.

The SNR has the right to control all the bills, but I have not heard anywhere that it would have the right to investigate—this is not in harmony with the legal system of the state; the choice of this word [investigate] is unfortunate, although I do not doubt the honesty of the intention. Then I would like to ask, as this investigation is taking place, why it is done against Meciar as a person and not against government policy? [passage omitted]

Here we come to a situation: How should control be carried out? Can any one deputy, any person, decide anytime to check on members of the government, or is there to be some kind of an internal mechanism that will define the method of control?

I am not against control; I thank you for it! You cannot imagine how many things you have helped to unveil with the "Tatragate" scandal and helped me to organize myself in several ways. These internal mechanisms are necessary and have to be supported. I would, however, like to ask here: How will they be implemented, and who will amend their organization from the legislative point of view?

I would like to note in this connection that a suspicion has been voiced about a left-wing coup in the state. Such a matter is exceptionally serious. It has been said that the prime minister had particpated in this coup—even possibly was its co-organizer. Why do we not take this matter as a subject for discussion? This is, surely, a serious threat to the constitutional order of the Republic. Why do we not deal with this? [passage omitted]

I would like to, if I may, draw your attention to some details: In every investigation, objectivity must be ensured, and there is a principle in law that if someone has already expressed a view on an issue elsewhere, he has no right to make decisions on a different forum. Thus, those in the VPN Council who have already decided that I am guilty should not be examining this issue of guilt once more, because I could with justification object to this as prejudice. This should not be the case.

I would also like to say that if you want to investigate issues connected with the Ministry of the Interior—investigate as much as you like, you will find nothing there—my work there was honest and conscientious. I did not work any other way then, and I do not work any other way now! Do not trouble yourselves with the period from 17 November—I became minister [of the interior] on 15 January. Do cut down your efforts!! [laughter and applause]

Then there is the issue of investigating foreign trips. Why only those of the prime minister, when all other members of the government go on them? This is my question. You, of course, have the right to carry out checks on the prime minister, but why not do this across the board, more systematically? [passage omitted]

Most of the suspicions have been around the visit we paid to Italy and the Soviet Union, and thus I would like to express some views on them; and do examine the contents when assessing! Do not expect the Holy Father to sign an agreement with me during talks that lasted 30 minutes! In those 30 minutes we only managed to discuss how to solve the issues of moral improvement of society, how to deal with relations between the state and the church, how to adopt stands on issues settling wrongs done against church property. [passage omitted] When someone asks: What have you signed? Nothing, because

nothing is signed during such visits. What have you agreed on? Everything that I wanted, and the implementation has to be done by others after me.

Most doubts have been cast on the visit to the Soviet Union—I am sorry, but I had a very bad feeling about the Soviet Union—not because I was going there or because I have to go there, but I did not understand why three weeks before this trip articles started appearing saying that my visit destabilizes the situation in Central Europe. [Czech Prime Minister] Pithart went there and did not destabilize it! Vales was there, Dlouhy went there—and Central Europe is still the same! Why then the suspicion?

I would also like to ask in connection with my visit to the Soviet Union: what is it that I have violated? The Czecho-Slovak trade agreement says that trade relations in the federation have not been resolved and that it is necessary for them to be solved at the level of republics and enterprises. Thus I went to discuss them, in harmony with the agreement, as ordered. The ambassador of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and his entourage did not leave me for a moment and was taking down every word uttered by me. An analysis, a report was then daily, immediately sent to Prague—and there every word of ours was analyzed and not a single political mistake was (?pointed out). What did I do there? I did not reproach them for the past, but I did look for a way to the future. I said clearly: Our relations can be good when their basis is nonpolitical, nonideological, nonmilitary blocs—when they are of a purely economic character. We want to do that. [passage omitted]

Esteemed listeners! My next trip should take me to Baden-Wurttemberg. I am not going to go there because upon my return you could say anything [applause] no matter how hard our work is—and those who accompany me on these trips are able to confirm how tiring this work is, sometimes they do not even have a chance to eat all day. How much have these trips yielded? However, I shall give account of it. (?I am responsible, of course, because it is my duty.) But do please point out only specific mistakes, if possible. Do not instruct commissions to look for my mistakes. If specific objections were raised in the press and political movements, then collect them and define them. According to instructions, the issues to be examined are, for example what happened to (?Demikat), what happened to the head of Kosice Regional State Security Adminstration (?Bytsky), and other issues that are to be reexamined. I do not know what else has been dug up in security; you have another two issues (?but go to hell). [applause and laughter]

Another instruction is to examine, say, what I messed up in the foreign field. So, let us focus on specific cases, please, but do not issue general instructions in such a way as to cast doubts upon the prime minister. I would like to mention yet another thing here. We cannot work in a (?haphazard) method. Citizens today are awaiting the result and the final ruling that will sound: Meciar is staying. The way Meciar perceives the whole situation, however, is that he is not staying, that things will gradually be sought so his name and his deeds could be discredited, and ultimately, when a suitable movement arrives and when the population is less vigilant, the situation will be resolved [word indistinct].

As far as the composition of the government is concerned, I take the liberty of saying that the government is capable of working, and I am able to work in the government with anyone, at any time, and under any kind of conditions. It will be able to pass resolutions because the methods of government's work are not accountable to any party. The government must also be guided by a unified creative spirit and a united mind, however. Why, for example, do you not examine the pronouncements of the deputy prime minister, Mr. Jozef Kucerak, which are unlikely to be true, which do not focus on the work of the government but on the work of its prime minister? (?Can we not include these in the resolutions?) [applause] It speaks of hearing three deputy prime ministers on one issue, but the issue does not constitute a comprehensive reexamination of their work. Why do we not reexamine the publicly made irresponsible political pronouncements on the work of the government and prime minister alike; the pronouncements that constituted a political misinterpretation of Slovakia and damaged its interest.

So, deputies, this point is important not because it deals with Meciar. Meciar is a person who, if dispatched away from politics today, will not shed a tear and will not regret it; but he will come back. [upheaval in hall] If you send me away and strip me of my office, you can do it, but if anybody expects that under all this pressure I shall give up my office: I will not do it in any situation because I have my obligations toward the citizens who gave me their trust even today. I know that I shall not do it also because I have not done anything that would throw doubt on what I believe to be true.

Here is more advice: You are researching the split in the VPN movement. This VPN movement will look quite different in two months. It will have a different structure of its bodies, and it might have also a different ratio of forces. If the newly elected bodies will then call for the further investigation of officials, the members of the plenum, and so on, will you be acting in the same way? It is absurd that the state bodies became a toy or a reflection of the internal political parties and movements.

The state cannot depend on the parties; the state must function independently of them, and be above them; it must regulate them, and this must be the basis of its actions.

The future of the Slovak Republic depends on it being such a strong state. It does not mean that we have to have the same view on a person. We do not need to have—in order to achieve this—the same view on the ways the state should follow. Invectives have been rather nasty, and they might stay like that later; it is a part of the office

I hold—I have counted with them. One thing, however, is painful: the invectives and strikes come from the movement to which I thought I belong with all my being, and which is trying to prove formally today that I am no longer its member. Even if they say that they no longer consider me a member of the VPN, I still have not been formally expelled from the VPN Council, its highest body. Where do I belong then? I could speak about more errors and invectives like that.

Esteemed SNR, the relations of the government, the relations of the legislature must be controlled by law. They cannot become a subject of policital manipulations because this damages the state, the unity of the state, and the policy of the state.

I apologize for the length of my speech. I also apologize that I have to depart after finishing this speech. I was supposed to be in the hospital since yesterday. Thank you. [applause]

Meciar Denies Allegations of Coup Preparations

AU1903211591 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Mar 91 pp 1,4

["ga"-signed Moscow dispatch: "V. Meciar Favors the Federation in Moscow"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At a news conference in Moscow [on 14 March], prior to his departure for Kiev, Slovak Prime Minister Meciar sharply rejected allegations that some forces in Slovakia were trying to stage a coup in his name and described these allegations as a "product of a sick imagination." Asked by the ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY reporter whether he, as the most popular Slovak politician, would feel personal responsibility if Czechoslovakia were to break up, Mr. Meciar replied: "According to statistical data, only between 12 and 15 percent of people in Slovakia wish the state's breakup. The others do not wish it, and I do not know why you constantly rank me among those 12 percent. What I am talking about is what the future state should look like and what the correlation of powers and activities between the federation and the republics should be. I understand the federation as something that should serve the republics and the power functions of which should be reduced. The federation must suit both Czechs and Slovaks and be beneficial for both of them. When a process of differentiation within Slovakia's civic movement, which is a legitimate process, starts, everyone starts screaming: Watch out, the state is about to fall apart. That is unacceptable. When the Civic Forum [OF] split into five groups, we in Slovakia understood it as an internal affair of the OF and of the Czechs. When the same process takes place in Slovakia, some forces try to internationalize this internal process. I am asking: Why? The Slovak Republic is part of Czechoslovakia. When Slovakia's reputation is damaged, the reputation of the whole state is damaged. The very first thing I will do when I return is that I will ask Czech politicians what they are going to do about that. I will ask them whether they identify with the insinuations about fascist tendencies in Slovakia and, if not, why they do not speak out against them. I will say frankly: Let us put an end to this hypocrisy." [passage omitted]

SNR Presidium Issues Resolution on 'Situation'

LD1903233191 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1810 GMT 19 Mar 91

["Resolution of the Slovak National Council Presidium on the present internal situation in Slovakia" read by Council First Deputy Chairman Ivan Carnogursky in Bratislava on 19 March—recorded]

[Text] The Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium has examined the present state of society and the influence of the Slovak Republic Government on the development of events, following the open split between individual members of the government of the Slovak Republic. Realizing its responsibility for the development of the Slovak Republic and for the functioning of its government, the Presidium considers it necessary to explain in more detail the context and some facts about the government's activity, its individual ministers, and also the prime minister.

The Presidium tasks the Defense and Security Committee of the SNR with investigating the circumstances, questioning those involved, and examining the activity of the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic since 17 November 1989; furthermore, it tasks the Foreign Committee of the SNR with examining the preparation and assessment of foreign trips made by government delegations of the Slovak Republic at the highest level, as was requested in a letter sent by the SNR chairman to the prime minister of the Slovak Republic dated 12 February 1991. All this to be completed by 27 March. It also tasks Frantisek Miklosko, Ivan Carnogursky, Milan Zemko, Jan Klepac, Olga Keltosova, Ladislav Nagy, and Milan Secansky with checking on the cooperation and coordination of work and the functioning of the government of the Slovak Republic.

The Presidium requests that deputy prime ministers of the Slovak Republic Kucerak, Ondrus and Zaszlos elucidate their remarks on the use of information on the alleged cooperation of some members of the Government of the Slovak Republic with the former State Security.

The Presidium further requests that the prime minister of the Slovak Republic explain his statement at a news conference when being presented the politician of the year prize, and I quote: Working people in enterprises and plants would support me, and would use even extreme means. I know I can do this, but shall I do it? He should express a stand on individual points of this resolution before the SNR Presidium.

The Presidium confirms the demand of the SNR chairman expressed in a letter to the prime minister of

the Slovak Republic dated 26 February 1991, and again requests a report on the fulfillment of the policy statement of the Slovak Republic to be submitted to the SNR by 10 April 1991.

VPN For Democratic Slovakia Issues Open Letter

LD1903150391 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] According to a letter addressed to the citizens of Slovakia from Public Against Violence [VPN] deputies who support the platform For Democratic Slovakia, the hidden conflict within VPN and the campaign against Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Minister Milan Knazko conceals within it an attempt to censor television statements by the Slovak prime minister. The letter adds that former colleagues of these two members of Slovak representative bodies used various underhand methods in their attempt to remove them from politics, and this was at its height when both were on a working visit abroad.

In the letter, the deputies also reject carrying the political battle within the movement into the work of governments and legislatures, as well as the confrontational policy of the VPN movement. Confrontation and political execution do not serve democracy nor the solution to concrete problems of everyday life, the letter states. Simple criticism of the centralism and undemocratic nature of the leadership of VPN caused such a vicious reaction as calls for the dismissal of a prime minister who has the support of the Slovak public and who is, even in the view of his opponents, a very active and able politician.

Gal Interviewed on Situation in Slovakia

AU1903135691 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 14 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Fedor Gal, Public Against Violence Slovak Council chairman, by Petr Novacek on 13 March; place not given: "The Courage for Truth"—first paragraph is ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] The Czech public knows Fedor Gal, Public Against Violence [VPN] Slovak Council chairman, as an unabashed advocate of Czech-Slovak unity. Yesterday, we managed to ask him several questions.

[Novacek] What is happening in Slovakia these days? Is there a danger of a recurrence of "socialism with a human face," or even worse, of national socialism?

[Gal] If there were a danger of something like that, we would not be here. The fact is that a problem has emerged here that has been quietly festering for a long time. This does not mean, however, that it is not just a current at the periphery of Slovak social awareness. I am inwardly convinced that the present wave of nationalism will subside within one or two months.

[Novacek] The last time Prime Minister Meciar entered the Slovak National Council assembly hall, deputies of the separatist Slovak National Party gave him a standing ovation. Could it mean that there is a chance of a nationalist bloc forming on the political stage, which would include Meciar's VPN For Democratic Slovakia platform?

[Gal] It was a clear demonstration of empathy with V. Meciar on the part of the Slovak National Party deputies. To read into this fact some profound meaning and symbolism—that can still be expected.

[Novacek] Mr. Gal, do you believe that the split in the VPN movement could lead to a crisis in the government coalition and thereby to early parliamentary elections in Slovakia?

[Gal] I consider the movement in the VPN movement to be extremely refreshing. It is great that it will make the space our movement holds on the political stage more visible. This metamorphosis—so much is true—complicates the political situation in Slovakia. We have good contact with our coalition partners, however, and are aware of the fact that today the economic reform and the question of the state arrangement are of prime importance.

[Novacek] If, at the Thursday [14 March] demonstration in the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava, nationalist extremists were to appear with a declaration of sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, what concrete counterarguments would the VPN movement use?

[Gal] We have been repeating it from the very beginning of the VPN movement: It would be an economic, cultural, social, and geopolitical catastrophe. It would be a catastrophe for many informal family and friendly relationships. I am convinced that Slovak people do not have suicidal tendencies.

[Novacek] How do you think one could stop the nationalist wave, and what could we in Bohemia do about it?

[Gal] First, I would like to say that chauvinism does not have only Slovak but also Czech and generally international dimensions. The first prerequisite for dealing with chauvinism is to tell the truth, to clearly identify the sources and possible consequences of chauvinism and comprehend the harmfulness of ignorance on the part of the other nation. Frankly, I tell you that it took a lot of work to put through our concept of a federation built from below. I hope you understand: A lack of understanding or perhaps even a lack of good intentions on the Czech side adds grist to the mill of the chauvinism in Slovakia.

[Novacek] Earlier today, I heard at the Christian Democratic Movement Central Secretariat that it is precisely the lack of good intentions on the Czech side that prevents a consensus, for instance, regarding the state agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic....

[Gal] I believe that on both sides the good will is not developed broadly enough. On the other hand, I do not like it when someone says: "I speak here in the name of all Slovaks!" I respond with distrust. Let me tell you, however, that the VPN movement is about to reach a consensus with the Christian Democratic Movement specifically on the state agreement—although it may be called by some other name.

[Novacek] Hence, to prevent individuals from speaking for an entire nation, you choose a referendum on Czech-Slovak relationship?

[Gal] Yes, it is necessary to adopt the relevant law and immediately organize the referendum.

Democratic Party Issues Statement on VPN Crisis

AU1903124691 Prague CTK in English 1737 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 16 (CTK)— The Slovak Democratic Party today called for an acceleration of radical economic reform, with due respect for Slovakia's specific features, and for a speedy settlement to the crisis within its coalition partner, the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement.

A resolution adopted by the party's executive committee at its session today said that unless the situation in the VPN is settled quickly, the Democratic Party (DS) will not bear responsibility for the destabilization of the situation caused by the irresponsibility of one of the coalition partners. (Slovak Government coalition partners are the VPN, DS, and the Christian Democratic Movement.)

The party supports the principles of the Czechoslovak Federation, does not reject the idea of a state treaty between the Czech and Slovak Republics but insists on that constitutions of the sovereign republics should be adopted first and links the validity of the federal and republics' constitutions to a referendum, said the resolution.

Appeals For Reason, Understanding

AU1903154091 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Mar 91 p 3

["Text" of open Letter by Democratic Party Chairman Jan Holcik; place and date not given: "Trust for Trust"]

[Text] The Democratic Party published through CTK an open letter addressed to President Vaclav Havel and to the public. We carry its full text:

We consider the insufficient knowledge of one another, tendentious spreading of biased information, and lack of trust between our two nations to be the greatest problem in our current relations.

We believe it necessary to emphasize that in the struggle for a place of honor among the nations on this continent, the Slovak people do not ask for anything but the recognition of the basic rights of a nation, the right to decide its own affairs, be they political, economic, or cultural. This elementary request of a national existence is neither separatism nor nationalism.

The recent development of the mutual relations of our peoples demonstrated convincingly that the republics' representatives are able to reach a consensus on adjustments in the mutual relationship. On the other hand the situation has often been complicated by current federal practices.

As we have already repeatedly stressed, only integrity, political and economic sovereignty, and the priority of national republics can serve as the fundamental point of departure for a state-legal arrangement of the CSFR. This does not apply to the constitutional solution alone but also as the basic approach to the political and economic problems of our life. The priority of national republics means no more and no less than respecting mutual differences, individual conditions, and each other's own ideas regarding the political, economic, and cultural existence.

Dear Mr. President, we would like to draw your attention to the fact that the current concept and practice of Czechoslovak federalism reminds one of the individual parts of the Czechoslovak state and discloses a form of a centralist attitude without any respect for national, regional, or republican features.

In particular, we would like to point out the unavoidability of an individual approach also in the matter of implementation of the economic reform. Even now, the Slovak Republic and its industry continue to be a mere supplier of semi-finished goods for Czech enterprises and abroad. For example, the Slovak Republic was hit by the conversion of the armament industry five times as hard as the Czech lands. Dealing with the energy problems, the Slovak Government faces serious problems. We refer to these facts, above all, to demonstrate the unbearability of such a federal economic policy that does not respect the specific conditions of the Slovak Republic and, in the interest of the so-called unity, does not allow different approaches in the price, taxation, and financial policies.

The demand for autonomy of the national republics is in no way aimed against the common state, common in the sense that in its function and activities it will fulfill and protect the common interests of all its citizens.

We are convinced that precisely consistent respect for the autonomy of the republics will form a firmer and healthier basis for mutual understanding and general cooperation.

Fellow citizens! Slovaks! The Democratic Party appeals for unity, only united and through mutual respect can we prevent the social disruption and economic chaos that threaten us.

Precisely these days, the Slovak nation must show its historical attachment to the ideals of freedom and democracy, and concurrently its aversion to any kind of totalitarianism, with the conviction that its national existence is linked to the victory of principles of democracy and to respect for the international order that is based on the principles of sovereignty of nations, international law, UN principles, and the current European security system.

The Democratic Party turns to you with an appeal to unite all democratic forces. The decisive factor for our future will be the will of our peoples. Let us not be influenced by ultimatums, disinformation, and endeavors to return to totalitarianism in any shape or form.

In the interest of a political and economic stability, we democrats appeal to all citizens of the CSFR for prudence and dialogue.

Democratic Left Supports Prime Minister Meciar

LD1903154891 Prague CTK in English 1451 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 19 (CTK)—The Democratic Left Party (former Communist Party of Slovakia, the fourth strongest in the Slovak Republic with seats both in the Slovak and federal parliaments) is against the recalling of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar from his function, chairman of the party Peter Weiss said at a press conference here today.

The current tense situation on the Slovak political scene is dealt with today by the presidium of the Slovak National Council (parliament). Its members are also to assess the activities of Vladimir Meciar and Slovak Minister for External Relations Milan Knazko. A plenary session of the Slovak parliament is to confer about this issue on Wednesday.

In case of voting deputies to the Slovak parliament for the Democratic Left Party would support the premier in his function, Weiss said, adding that there have been no arguments against Meciar so far.

The Central Executive Committee of the party issued a statement here today saying that the federative setup of Czechoslovakia must ensue above all from the sovereignty of the national republics from which the federation's sovereignty is derived. The new Czechoslovak constitution, which should be eleborated on the basis of the republics' constitutions, should fix firmly the right to self-determination, including separation, the statement of Slovakia's former communists said. z

FKgP Member Refutes 'Extreme Right-Wing' Views

AU2003104691 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Mar 91 p 5

[Interview with Imre Boross, general secretary of the Independent Smallholders' Party (FKgP), by Laszlo Sandor; place and date not given: "Right-Wing. And Extreme?"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] The National Forum [Nemzeti Forum] recently organized a meeting in the Jurta Theater. In the 10 March broadcast of VASARNAPI UJSAG [SUNDAY NEWS], Imre Boross, (who presented the main report at the Forum meeting,) reacted with particular vehemence to an article written by myself, entitled "Extreme Right-Wing." In the following interview, Boross and I do not wish to reiterate our opinions of one another, nor do we protest against mutual affronts. As two Hungarian intellectuals with different values, we do, however, try to agree whether Imre Boross's openly admitted right-wing values are extreme or not. Our conversation opens with Imre Boross's reproach:

[Boross] As a matter of interest, why do you list me as an "extreme" right-wing politician?

[Sandor] Would you not accept that term?

[Boross] No. Not at all.

[Sandor] As I have previously mentioned, I think a certain tone of voice and a particular style, which serve to whip up sentiments, form part of an extremist's repertoire—but all that is secondary. When you demand that the remains of Miklos Horthy [governor of Hungary at the beginning of World War II] be returned to the country and buried in a way that is fitting for a former head of state, and when this political demand is met with frenetic applause, it reminds me of an extreme right-wing ideology. Would you not agree?

[Boross] You listened to my entire speech, so following Horthy's appraisal, you will probably remember my adding that he had made mistakes, and that a thorough historical analysis of his activities still had to be carried out. Allow me to point out that my family did not support Horthy at all; we were closer to the legitimists [legitimistak]. Among other things, I disagree with Horthy's statement of that time, claiming that the working class was antinational.

[Sandor] Nevertheless, you stated in both oral and written form that Horthy's merit was imperishable in that he did not tolerate Communism, and that he crushed all attempts to remove him during his position in power—at this, the participants gave you a standing ovation.

[Boross] Not really. This was not at all an extremist manifestation; people have just had enough of Bolshevik violence and of any form of communism, they feel nostalgic toward anything that is different. In the rest of my speech, I did not just focus on anything, on extremist ideas; I tried to hone in on our right-wing, national, democratic, and bourgeois tradition. The legacy of Hungary's Smallholders between the wars, such as Tibor Eckhardt's spiritual and political legacy—which I talked about at length during my speech—can hardly be termed extremist. Tibor Eckhardt was an anglophile, a patriot, and, therefore, an anti-Nazi.

[Sandor] That is true. He was opposed to a German orientation, but he did not really oppose other fascist manifestations at the beginning of the 1920's, given that he was the founder of the Association of Awakening Hungarians [Ebredo Magyarok Egyesulete], an openly extreme organization. That is not changed by the fact that Eckhardt later distanced himself from all this, and that he did constructive diplomatic work as the representative of the Kallay government. Furthermore, it is to your credit that you stand for Eckhardt the diplomat, the Eckhardt of the 1930's, in the face of current Hungarian diplomatic blunders.

[Boross] That is correct; however, it would be advisable to handle these terms with care. There is a clear difference between fascism and national-socialism. Mussolini was not a racist, and most of Hungary's right-wing politicians, including Istvan Bethlen, were not extremists. I do not accept fascism because of its dictatorial and corporative traits. Horthy was not a fascist either, nor was he a right-wing extremist, given that he pursued extreme right-wingers. We must, therefore, be careful when we assess historical figures. [passage omitted]

[Sandor] Please tell us what your own, personal right-wing values are.

[Boross] At the moment, the nation longs for the following right-wing values: a development of national awareness, patriotism, Christian thinking, respect for deserved prestige (as opposed to prestige principles and dictatorial governing,) civic order (people have had enough of anarchy,) and charity (unselfish, fraternal support for the fallen.) Naturally, these values differ from the cosmopolitan values of the left wing. [passage omitted]

FKgP's Torgyan Complains of Party 'Traitors'

LD2003221691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Interview with Independent Smallholders' Party Chairman Jozsef Torgyan by Janos Hollos; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The faction leader of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], dismissed the day before yesterday, apparently has no intention of giving up his political ambitions. Now, however, he denies to Janos Hollos the report about him that appeared in today's papers.

[Hollos] According to the information received by today's PESTI HIRLAP you had made contact with the Holy Crown Association [Szent Korona Tarsasag] and the National Smallholders' Party [Nemzeti Kisgazda

Part] to gain their support for your campaign to collect signatures to call together the board of the FKgP.

[Torgyan] This news had been picked out of the air. First, I did not initiate any kind of collection of signatures; there is no need for this at all, because I understand that a substantial majority of county chairmen demand the calling together of the board immediately, in view of the events of recent days when several FKgP personalities openly betrayed the FKgP. This makes it necessary for the FKgP in the interests of preserving its independence to hold a board meeting. All kinds of rumors had been spread about me. I call this a modern-day witch-hunt.

[Hollos] Do you accept any kind of common spiritual ground with the Holy Crown Association, or the National Smallholders' Party?

[Torgyan] I dissociate myself from every kind of extremism, but that is not the point. In my view, it is the serious mistakes of the present government which bring out such extreme reactions.

[Hollos] You said traitors wormed their way into the FKgP. Whom do you have in mind? Are you saying this in connection with having been dismissed as faction leader?

[Torgyan] Certain FKgP MP's have sold out the independence of the FKgP.

[Hollos] I do not know of whom you are thinking when you are talking about traitors.

[Torgyan] I think the FKgP board will be wise enough to filter out these traitors.

Minister Cites Data on Foreign Economic Relations

LD2003140691 Budapest MTI in English 1244 GMT 20 mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 20, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS) - It's a case of rain and shine at the same time in the Hungarian economy at the moment, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, Mr Bela Kadar, said at a press briefing here yesterday.

For a start, those companies, sectors, and groups of the population which developed contacts with the West earlier are now experiencing a powerful boom.

The reason the country's situation is better than its neighbours, is that a much larger section of the population is fostering contacts with the West in Hungary than in other former socialist countries, the minister added.

The other side of the coin is that those enterprises which specialized in Comecon trade—they tend to be large companies—are now in a critical situation.

According to preliminary figures, Hungary's East European exports were 124 million USD [U.S. dollars] in the first two months of the year, about 50 per cent down on the same period of last year.

The export offensive continues towards the EC market, and even seems to be making up for lost positions on the eastern European and developing markets, Mr Kadar said.

After his talks with Soviet Deputy Premier Sitarian, the Hungarian minister did not seem to be very optimistic about a rapid improvement in Soviet liquidity.

The Soviet party says it has to insist on import restrictions because of the drastic drop in production and exports.

Vnieshekonombank is reported to be giving preference to meeting claims from Western banks.

So far this year, Hungary has imported 200 million USD worth of Soviet goods, but the Soviet Union has opened letters of credit worth only 60 million USD.

Hungarian companies that export predominantly to the Soviet market are facing serious financing problems which should be eased through government measures, Mr Kadar told newsmen.

Some companies are bound to go bust, but others, though on the brink of bankruptcy at the moment, will make it with the help of a bridging loan, the minister said.

The ministry of international economic relations is suggesting that companies in the latter group should be given a short-term preferential credit.

Mr Kadar said such credits should be provided on condition the products the company makes feature on the indicative list appendixed to the Hungarian-Soviet trade agreement signed last December, the company in question has a valid export contract, and Soviet exports share no more than 15 per cent of the firm's overall exports.

These would be the objective criteria for deciding on eligibility for the short-term preferential credits, Kadar said.

He stressed that the state cannot fully withdraw from the economy overnight, even though the ultimate aim is fully-fledged liberalization.

At the moment, there is no genuine competition here, privatization has not made sufficient progress yet, the country,s infrastructure is backward, and about 500,000 jobs depend on East European trade.

Kadar rejected press criticism that he was following a "dirigist, etatist line."

"Even if there were an element of truth in what they say, I'd be in good company, because the Germans are pursuing the same line in getting the economy of the former GDR back on its feet," Kadar said.

The German Government is spending 130 billion DM [Deutsche marks] on the purpose, whereas the Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations would need only 6.5 billion forints (91 million USD) for export support and for assisting the change in markets.

Three-Day Gdansk Shipyard Strike Ends

LD2003234491 Warsaw PAP in English 2148 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Gdansk, March 20—A three-day wildcat strike in Gdansk shipyard ended today after members of the strike committee, in the end representing the interests of several dozen workers, accepted terms offered by the enterprise's board. No sanctions will be used against participants in the strike, providing they return to work right away.

All postulates presented by the strikers will be discussed in the course of later talks between the board and workers.

Some 1,000 workers, mainly young people, took part in the sit-in organized by the "free trade unions of the coast" led by Anna Walentynowicz, former close aide of Lech Walesa. The number of the striking workers dwindled rapidly after it had turned out that the strike failed to win the support of several-thousand-strong crew of the shipyard.

Walesa Meets With Brzezinski in Washington

LD2003110891 Warsaw PAP in English 0950 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Washington, March 20—Viewed against the backdrop of other Central European countries and the USSR, where the reform has either been arrested or is going through a crisis, Poland looks like a land of evident, multifarious success, former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski told visiting Polish President Lech Walesa at a private dinner here last night. President Walesa arrived in Washington for a seven-day official visit to the United States yesterday.

Walesa attributed his country's success to the cohesion of the people, the nation's religion, the role of Roman Catholic Church, the pope and Solidarity, the factors which are non-existent in the other countries of the region, he said.

Walesa warned that a fiasco of reform in Central and Eastern Europe is likely to end up in landslide migration to the West.

Walesa admitted that his supreme target during the visit is to encourage American businessmen to cooperate with Poland.

Poland's foreign minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who accompanies Walesa during the visit, talked to Secretary of State James Baker last night. No details have been reported.

Commentary Views Goals of Walesa's U.S. Visit

AU2003104991 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18 Mar 91 p 2

[Piotr Jen commentary: "Beyond the Ocean—Not Just For Money"]

[Text] The fundamental objective of President Lech Walesa's visit to the United States due to begin on Tuesday [19 Mar], is to present Poland as a stable country that is actively implementing a program of political and economic reforms. The visit's two other goals are to heighten Washington's interest in Central and Eastern European security matters (certain specific American guarantees come into play here), and to increase Poland's profile in the American business community. The latter will also have an effect on the problem of Poland's debt reduction. These matters will no doubt be echoed in the joint declaration to be signed in Washington at the end of the official part of the Polish president's visit.

President Walesa's visit to the United States is the first such visit made by a Polish head of state to the United States (not counting the World War II period). This also has its symbolism, but as the objectives of the present visit show, the visit has a very pragmatic character. That is why—apart from official political and economic talks in Washington—several meetings with representatives of American business have been fitted into the schedule. In Washington, Walesa is to meet the chairmen of the 20 largest U.S. corporations and over 200 other businessmen. Similar meetings have been scheduled in Los Angeles, Chicago (home of the Mid-America Club, an influential organization that affiliates American midwestern businesses), and in New York, where a similar meeting is being organized by the Polish American Enterprise Fund. In Los Angeles, former President Ronald Reagan will be one of the speakers, and there will be representatives of various Polish Community Organizations in the United States. Walesa will be having meetings with Polish emigre representatives throughout his visit. A very important item during the visit is Walesa's scheduled meeting with representatives of Jewish circles in New York. That meeting will also be attended by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar.

Lech Walesa's visit to the United States is thus one more important link in the sequence of Polish-American meetings at the highest state level. The process of renewing Polish-American relations was initiated by President Bush's visit to Poland in July 1989. Lech Walesa went to the United States in November 1989, but only as the head of "Solidarity." That visit remains indelibly etched on the memories of both Poles and Americans. Prime Minister Mazowiecki's visit to the U.S. in March 1990 closed the process of normalization in our relations and was one of the factors that led to further positive changes in American policy toward Poland. At present, the task facing our authorities is to strengthen the very favorable attitude the United States has toward Poland.

One has reason to hope that President Walesa's visit will produce good results in both the political and economic sphere.

Sulek Interviewed on Treaty Talks With Germany

AU2003110891 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16-17 Mar 91 p 1

[Interview with Jerzy Sulek, director of the Europe Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Maria Wagrowska; place and date not given: "Poland-Germany: Not Against Each Other, But Together"]

[Text] [Wagrowska] The fourth round of Polish-German negotiations on the subject of partner-like cooperation and good-neighborliness will take place in Bonn on 19 and 20 March. You will head our delegation. What have the talks produced so far?

[Sulek] Negotiations with the FRG have been going on for several months. The first stage ended with the conclusion of a treaty affirming the current border between the Republic of Poland and Germany. During the three previous rounds of talks on the subject of the cooperation treaty, we managed to work out two-thirds of the text, but I have to admit that we have still to deal with the most difficult issues.

[Wagrowska] That means...?

[Sulek] The question of the rights and duties of the German minority in Poland as well as of persons of Polish origin or those who consider themselves Polish living in Germany.

[Wagrowska] It must be possible to achieve a compromise on the issue?

[Sulek] Before I answer that particular question, I would like to stress that both delegations are pursuing negotiations in a manner that is intended to avoid confrontation and is directed toward a common goal: the creation of conditions that will be conducive to cooperation, understanding, and reconciliation between Germans and Poles in the future. We do not want to be "against each other," but together "with one another," not "gegeneinander," but "miteinander" [two preceding words in quotation marks in German]. We do not want to force compromises but to cleanse relations of bad events and produce new prospects for the future.

In view of this, Poland is against any kind of special regulations governing the German minority of the sort that were applied during the period between the wars and produced a result that we are well familiar with. As we know, the expellees associations would expect the FRG Government to achieve some kind of special settlement.

On the other hand, I hope that both delegations will agree to employ the universally binding European solutions based on the CSCE documents, primarily the Copenhagen meeting on the "human dimension," and the Council of Europe Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Liberties, and the so-called Council of Europe recommendations. Regulations concerning minorities should be governed by three criteria: recognition of international standards, domestic law, and the application of the principle of reciprocity. The German minority should possess no fewer and no more rights than those that are accorded other ethnic minorities in Poland.

It should not be forgotten that citizens of German descent in Poland and citizens of Polish descent in Germany must have a duty, one that is clearly defined, to be loyal to the state in which they live. They must observe the treaties that the two states have concluded and respect their territorial integrity. The minority problem cannot be allowed to "rattle" the structures of Polish-German relations. It cannot be allowed to impact destructively on good-neighborly coexistence within each of the countries and between them.

[Wagrowska] Will the Polish minority in Germany also be treated according to the three criteria that you mentioned above?

[Sulek] The situation is rather more complicated in as much as there is an "old" Polish community that is well established in the FRG as well as a "younger" community of several tens of thousands. These are two different categories of people, but we would like them to be treated in the same way under the treaty.

[Wagrowska] Has the size of the ethnic minorities been defined during the negotiations, because, as far as I can remember, this was the subject of an acrimonious dispute some years ago?

[Sulek] No, it is a question of the rights and duties of those who, of their own accord, consider themselves to belong to a minority.

[Wagrowska] There is no need to prove how important economic cooperation is for Polish-German relations? How will this be reflected in the treaty?

[Sulek] The treaty creates a general framework for economic and financial cooperation in the same way as it does for other fields. It will contain provisions pertaining to interstate cooperation as well as nongovernmental and private cooperation. It provides a basis for trade, the exchange of scientific and technical ideas, and the movement of capital. This type of cooperation will furnish a means to achieve progress and assistance in the transition to a market economy.

[Wagrowska] Are there any other important unresolved issues that will be the subject of negotiations?

[Sulek] There is the question of Poland's relations with the European Community....

[Wagrowska] In what way is that an issue? After all, have the Germans not expressed their support for Poland's efforts to achieve integration with Western Europe?

[Sulek] That is true. In bilateral contacts, the Germans are giving their backing to our associate membership and, in the longer term, our membership in the European Community, but French support has gone even further.

Germany was the first state with which we started negotiations on a treaty, but what we have attained in our talks with France is in a sense "more mature," it pleases us more and should be included in the Polish-German treaty.

[Wagrowska] Does that mean that it is actually a good thing that the treaty with Germany is behind schedule, because that will make it possible to achieve more favorable decisions? I would like to go even further and ask whether it was the case that Poland wanted France to be the first Western European state with which it concluded a treaty, because of political considerations?

[Sulek] Each of the states occupies a special, although different place in Poland's foreign policy. This is reflected in the names of the treaties: "on partner-like cooperation and good-neighborliness" in the case of Germany and "on friendship and solidarity" in the case of France.

[Wagrowska] How far away are we from the end of negotiations on the treaty with the FRG?

[Sulek] I am hoping that the next, fifth round of talks, which will take place in the middle of April, will be the last. The treaty would be signed in Germany and probably in the presence of the two heads of government. During Prime Minister Bielecki's recent visit to Bonn, Chancellor Kohl said publicly that both sides hope that the two treaties—on the borders and on cooperation—will come before parliament for ratification before the summer recess.

[Wagrowska] Nevertheless, that is significantly later compared with the original plans, which talked about their ratification at the end of February.

[Sulek] I would not attach too much importance to that. The end result is what matters.

Fourth Round of Treaty Talks With Germany Begin

LD1903234791 Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] March 19—The differences of stands emerged on national minorities and Poland's rapprochement with the EC during the fourth round of talks on a treaty on good neighbourliness and cooperation between Poland and Germany that started today.

Bonn thinks that one should adopt special solutions towards German minority in Poland. But Warsaw adopted a stand that rights of national minorities should conform to European norms defined in the CSCE documents. The German side insists on including individual solutions, particularly these concerning cultural identity of its minority, into the text of a treaty.

The second disputable question is Warsaw's proposal that Germany should voice support for Poland's integration with the European Community in its treaty with Poland. The German side argues that this would mean undertaking unilateral commitment on behalf of the remaining EC member states.

The question of cancelling visas has also remained unexplained. The Schengen Treaty member states have basically agreed to this and German reports show that the only obstacle is the opposition of Belgium. It says that Warsaw has not yet offered guarantees that it will admit its citizens deported from Western Europe for violating regulations binding there.

Official Comments on New 'Defense Doctrine'

AU1903145491 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 14 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Janusz Grochowski report on interview with National Defense Vice Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "A New Defense Doctrine"]

[Text] A joint meeting of the Sejm National Defense and Foreign Affairs Committees last Wednesday, 13 March, took place behind closed doors. The only thing known about the two-hour meeting, attended by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, among others, is that the concept of a new Polish defense doctrine was discussed, and that the parliamentarians conducted a rather heated discussion about our future military alliances.

"First, one must realize that a defense doctrine is not a legal instrument, but merely a collection of views on state security and on ways of reacting to danger," Janusz Onyszkiewicz, vice minister of national defense, told POLSKA ZBROJNA. Onyszkiewicz attended the meeting and briefed the parliamentarians on the new doctrine. "I know of no other country with a defense doctrine similar to ours, which was adopted last spring, and which bears the stamp of the highest authorities. The meeting was an attempt to list possible threats to Poland in the future and consider how to organize the Armed Forces correspondingly. One thing we can say is that there is no reason to fear any major conflict in Europe that could endanger Poland, but one should expect the possibility of local conflicts as a result of increasing nationalist trends, or instability in various countries. Therefore our defense thinking should be geared in this direction.

"However," said Onyszkiewicz, "war as a method of resolving conflicts or implementing policies is ceasing to be as important in Europe as it used to be. That is because democratic countries are very wary of resorting to war, and democracy is proliferating in Europe. Besides, there are other ways of exerting pressure on other countries—economic sanctions, ecological or terrorist measures, and waves of migration. Therefore, security and defense doctrine cannot be considered just a military topic, but also a task for the diplomats, who should safeguard our security by means of suitable foreign policies."

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Have any new tasks for the Army already emerged as a result of this listing of dangers?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think they have. The deputies at the meeting appreciated the organizational and structural changes that have already been undertaken in the Army—e.g. the conversion of the Ministry of National Defense to a civilian body. I repeat, defense doctrine is not something to be drafted and then locked away in a filing cabinet. It is something to bear in mind constantly and contrast its provisions with the changing reality. We know that NATO established its defense doctrine during the course of 10 years and that it is now amending it. Our situation is more complicated inasmuch as we have to consider Poland's security without knowing how the situation in Eastern Europe will develop.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The Warsaw Pact is disappearing. What will there be instead? Surely we should try to establish some sort of international system that safeguards our security?

[Onyszkiewicz] It is very difficult to say what there will be instead. First we have to consider whether the Warsaw Pact ever safeguarded our security. I think the answer is negative. The Pact was a tool of Soviet policy and a way of disciplining its member countries, as was the case of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and was almost the case in Poland in 1980. So this is not as if we are losing something and have to find something else to take its place. Of course, that does not mean we wish to avoid various bilateral or multilateral links. Even though we do not intend to abandon military resources entirely, we want our security to be mainly based not on military resources, but on political ones, which would bring to our region the same situation as in Western Europe, where there is virtually no question of the danger of an armed conflict.

Debt Reduction Seen as Success for Reforms

AU2003094691 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16-17 Mar 91 p 4

[Krystyna Milewska report: "Fifty Percent"]

[Text] The almost year-long negotiations on reducing Poland's foreign debt have ended successfully, although 50 percent is not the 80 percent we originally asked for. The 50 percent reduction is a minimum, and it does not exclude the possibility that individual countries will be even more generous. It is also a decision without precedent. Before this decision the "Group of Seven" did reduce the foreign debts of the poorest African states, but only by 30 percent. The 50 percent reduction in our repayment burden is also a signal of support for Polish reforms. Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz said clearly: "This is an expression of support for Polish reforms, but it is not a substitute for them." It simply means that if we abandon the road of reforms it could be very expensive for us. What other implications lie behind the decision to slash our debt, other than the fact that we shall have less to pay back? First, it may be an encouragement for the flow of foreign capital into Poland. As a general rule, this capital does not like to flow into countries that are heavily in debt and have repayment difficulties.

One can summarize the decision as follows: It is an expression of support for our efforts toward reforming our economy, and it is also a clear personal success for Leszek Balcerowicz as the author of the reform program. It is also largely a success for Polish society, which has patiently borne the cost of this reform.

Soviet Army Causes Environmental Damage

AU1903151191 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 14 Mar 91 p 3

['jz'-signed report: "What The Soviet Army Will Leave Behind"]

[Text] "The Soviet forces in Poland do not observe Polish environmental laws. They illegally dump oil derivatives into rivers and canals. They deposit various kinds of waste in forests. Some of which might even be radioactive," Zbigniew Kamienski, director of the Control Department of the State Institute of Environmental Protection, told GAZETA on Wednesday.

Huge fuel dumps containing fuel to be used in time of war, completely unprotected, were discovered quite by accident in Raszowka, Legnica Voivodship.

At Stara Kopernia, Zielona Gora Voivodship, some 10,000 hectares of land and water have been polluted with waste. Some 3,000 tonnes of this waste have polluted the water used by the local population, and damage has also occurred to the forest. This may be considered an ecological disaster, says a special report by the State Inspectorate for Environmental Protection.

A similar level of environmental damage has been determined at Szprotawa, Swinoujscie, Kluczew, Chojna, Brzeg, Krzywa, Bagicz, and Wedrzyn, all of which have Soviet garrisons.

It could take up to 20 years to repair the damage in just one garrison, but there are 35 garrisons in all. "Investigating the extent of the damage alone will cost between 100 and 200 billion zlotys," said Z. Kamienski.

In the meantime, the Polish environmental inspectorates are unable to inspect the damage because the chief of the Soviet forces in Poland, Colonel-General Viktor Dubynin, refuses to grant permission to enter all the Soviet bases.

The withdrawal of the Soviet forces will probably start in April. If it takes place without our control, there will be an environmental disaster. "I fear that could be the price we might pay for a premature departure of the Soviet forces from Poland," said Z. Kamienski.

Ministers Vatasescu, Stolojan, Zisu Resign

AU2003141391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1358 GMT 20 Mar 91

["Government Diary: Resignation From Petre Roman's Government"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/3/1991—During the March 20, 1991, government session, Minister of State Anton Vatasescu and Finance Minister Theodor Stolojan maintained their previous stands regarding the second stage of price liberalization and the social protection measures.

Although they agreed that under the given conditions the scheme approved by the government had probably been the best, they appreciated that a more radical price liberalization solution—which would completely eliminate subsidies and price differentiations that generate waste and inefficiency—would have been preferable for the population if backed by proper social protection.

Therefore, taking into account also the excessive strain under which they had been working lately, Messrs. Anton Vatasescu and Theodor Stolojan asked to be released from their duties.

At the same time, Mr. Mihai Zisu, minister of resources and industry also asked to be released from his duties on health grounds.

Roman Asks Cabinet Ministers To Stay

AU2103151291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1500 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/3/1991—As was announced, three ministers of the Romanian Government—i.e. Anton Vatasescu, minister of state, Theodor Stolojan, minister of finance, and Mihai Zisu, minister of resources and industry—asked the prime minister to accept their resignations. In his turn, Premier Roman asked the three dignitaries not to step down, for the sake of the coherence of the government's economic and political policy in the period to come.

TU Protests Price Liberalization, Government

AU2003144091 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] A meeting began in Bucharest's Revolution Square at 1500 upon the initiative of the Alfa Trade Union Cartel with the aim of asking Romania's president and Parliament to deal with the following problems:

—An immediate stop to the application of the second stage of price liberalization and of the entire government reform;

—Support for the Alfa alternative for a democratic and united Romania and for the draft laws derived from this program.

Those who took the floor during the meeting referred at length to the country's current situation and to the effects on the population of the application of the reform. They appealed to the participants in the meeting to prove their responsibility and to participate in the meeting and march while observing order and discipline, and not to react to possible provocations.

The participants chanted antigovernment, antipresidential, and pro-monarchy slogans. At the end of the meeting in Revolution Square, the participants will start a march toward University Square and Unirii Square, the Parliament, and Cotroceni Palace. On this occasion, petitions will be handed over to the Parliament and Romania's president.

Further information about the meeting and march organized by the Alfa Trade Union Cartel will be provided in our later casts.

March Reaches Cotroceni Palace

AU2003211691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2019 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/3/1991—The first stretch of the march organised by the "Alfa" Trade Union Cartel, included the route from the Revolution Square to the Parliament House, where the demonstrators stopped for half an hour and chanted slogans demanding the resignation of the parliament members, of the country's president and of the government.

A delegation representing the Cartel's leaders handed to deputy Cazimir Ionescu a petition addressed to the chair-persons of the two chambers, proposing an economic alternative as seen by the "Alfa" Cartel.

At the Cotroceni Presidential Palace ended the rally of the Alfa Cartel that started at 1800 Bucharest time. Before the Cartel representatives arrived, there were several hundred people in front of the palace, which had tried to climb up the fences.

Things calmed down upon the arrival of the marching column.

The representatives of the Alfa Cartel handed over a petition addressed to the country's president. Antipresidential slogans were shouted.

Around 1830 the participants in the rally left, but a few hundred persons remained around the Cotroceni Palace, some of them violent, trying again to climb up the fences and the gate and some hurled stones.

Talks With Iliescu Requested

AU2003213791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2040 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/3/1991—The Alfa Trade Union bloc has addressed to Romania's President

Ion Iliescu and the president and speaker of the Parliament's two chambers a petition asking for the organization of a meeting between the bloc's representatives and the three political personalities.

Waiting for the second stage of price liberalization as of April 1, the trade union bloc wishes to discuss with the authorized representatives of the power the "Alfa" alternative which it proposes in order to overcome the crisis the country lives through and build a democratic and united Romania.

The petition shows that the answer is waited for in the next seven days.

Proposes 'To Rid Country of Communism'

AU2103103691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0936 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/3/1991—The "Alfa" Trade Union Cartel proposes an alternative to the Romanian Government's Programme "in order to rid the country of communism and place it on the road to democracy and welfare."

According to Alfa's Alternative, the nation's fundamental aim is to build a "democratic and united Romania, an equal, dignified and active partner of the other nations of Europe and the world."

The Cartel proposes a reform of the state that would ensure absolute sovereignty of the citizen and guarantee individual freedom. At the same time, an economic reform should take place leading to a "democratic market economy" by distributing among Romania's citizens the wealth accumulated before the December 1989 revolution, by distributing the whole land and farming assets among the peasants and by giving equal treatment to foreign and domestic capital.

Alfa's Alternative pays special attention to measures of biological, ecological, social, educational, cultural, legal, information, financial, public and national protection of the citizen "by a rich and powerful state, entitled to raise and administer taxes for the aforementioned purposes."

Romania's foreign relations must be based on equality, dignity and cooperation, according to "Alfa's Alternative" published by daily "ROMANIA LIBERA".

FSN Leaders Have Not Renounced Communism

AU2103120091 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Mr. Ion Ratiu, deputy and leader of the parliamentary group of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party in the Deputies' Assembly, met with British Prime Minister John Major in London, REUTER reports, also carrying the statements made by Mr. Ion Ratiu at a news conference that followed the meeting.

Mr. Ratiu said that the leaders of the National Salvation Front [FSN] have not openly renounced communism despite the fact that they say they advocate a multiparty system and market economy. The president and government of Romania, Mr. Ratiu said, have not eliminated the basic institutions of Ceausescu's regime and have reintroduced a number of measures such as authorizing the Army to fire at political protesters.

Mr. Ion Ratiu greeted the recent report presented by Prime Minister Petre Roman, which he described as a belated adoption of his own viewpoints on the need for economic reform.

Finally, Mr. Ratiu said that the West should be prudent when granting economic aid, and emphasized that Romania should observe the conditions established by the Council of Europe regarding the economic reform and observance of human rights.

FSN Youth Conference Yields Few Results

AU2003124691 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 13 Mar 91 p 2

[Vlad Petreanu article: "Second Rate Treatment for Future Leaders?"]

[Excerpt] The National Salvation Front [FSN] Youth Conference, held on Saturday, 9 March cannot be called a success. The lack of organizational experience and the inefficient support granted were decisive in this case.

Representatives of 29 counties and five Bucharest sectors attended the conference, a fact that, in principle, shows a great interest and reflects the young people's opinion that the place and role of young people within the government formation must and should be clarified.

The surprise started when the agenda was read: It included the presentation and approval of the draft rules of an organization called the "Youth Movement for Reform and Democracy."

This triggered a number of discussions and accusations, sometimes amplified by the impulsiveness specific to this age group.

The mistrust voiced at the meeting was motivated by the surprise of being faced with a "fait accompli." While the Dolj, Olt, and Gorj County representatives mentioned that they were not empowered to adopt an operational code, the others—justifiably—refused to discuss a document about which they knew nothing.

The authors of the project excused themselves by saying that it was not an attempt to impose a certain viewpoint, but simply there had been no time to send it out to counties because its drafting was concluded at a very late date.

The fact that the position of the proposed "Movement" within the Front is not clearly defined in the draft also caused controversial discussions and the majority of speakers rejected the idea of a separate organization affiliated to a front or to a union. [passage omitted]

Press Reactions to FSN Convention Continue

AU2003185591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1714 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/3/1991—The convention of the ruling party, the National Salvation Front [FSN], is further commented upon in the 20 March issues of Bucharest dailies.

"AZI," the daily of the National Salvation Front: The Front's characteristic feature, as against the other parties, is its re-asserted vocation of national salvation (...) of course, although its policy is daring and moderate at the same time, a policy of the deed filtered through reason, directed both inside and outside, the Front cannot achieve political and social equilibrium only by itself, even if it proved to be very well balanced. On the road our society has embarked on, the Front needs partners and not embittered opponents. That is why a "pact of non-aggression" should be concluded with that fierce opposition that takes advantage of the smallest mistakes, of the dissatisfactions of daily life, to seed discord, that turns the difficulties and nonfullfilments of the ruling party into a political capital.

"ADEVARUL," independent daily: The convention of the National Salvation Front adopted an extremely necessary resolution on the national problem. It was more than necessary, as the ruling party should make things clear at last, after keeping silent for so long, having made ambiguous statements and having been late in adopting a firm stand. As is natural for an official act of a centre (or centre-left) party, the resolution wants to keep away from extremist attitudes. The late Emperor Napoleon said that when he wanted a problem buried he made up a commission. The all-country FSN Convention decided for a standing commission to be created in the party on the national problem and inter-ethnic relations.

"ROMANIA LIBERA," independent daily of opinion, information and report: Speculations are already made on the scission awaited in the FSN parliamentary group. Is the group "guided," "maneuvered," inspired by personal ambitions? A first reaction from behind the scenes was heard, made by someone close to power: "I think this is a 'naive' wing of the Front."

"DIMINEATA," daily of information and democratic opinion: "To be or not to be a master" is a question posed by both the government and the Front. Several speakers at the convention asked it. It would have remained rhetorical if Prime Minister Petre Roman himself had not said in the speech he held Sunday, 17 March: "Governments are transient. But the Front will exist also when we are in opposition." He was, no doubt right, and it is not for the first time that he advances the idea of a new governmental formula. Coquetry, premonition, pragmatism? In concord with the premier, Minister of State Adrian Severin wanted to make it clear who the master was. "There is no opposition between the government and the National Salvation Front. There will no longer be any risk for our political party to be swallowed by the executive when we are in opposition." Has the opposition become an obsession of the government?

DREPTATEA, news organ of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party: The FSN National Convention brought no surprise (...) what matters is that this congress is over. It was unattractive because of the crisis of non-confidence FSN crosses. And the congress might have been held on purpose when Moldova across the Prut lived very hard days, for issuing a declaration of solidarity with the Romanians living over there, a declaration made by a political party.

"CURIERUL NATIONAL," information daily: Let's be sincere: The wording looks like the democracy promoted by the former school of the Communist Party.

Poll Shows Majority Trusts Current Leadership

AU2003143091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1402 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/3/1991—The Romanian Institute of Research Into Life Quality made at the end of 1990 a poll on a sample of 1,234 persons above the age of 18, representative of all Romania's population.

Poll results show that 28.3 per cent of the tested persons have full confidence in president Ion Iliescu; 34.1 per cent in Premier Petre Roman; while 18.7 per cent and 12.7 per cent, respectively, expressed distrust in the two political leaders.

As for political parties and institutions, National Salvation Front is fully trusted by 24.6 per cent of the participants in the test; the National Liberal Party by 5.8; the National Peasant Party by 4.5; Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania by 5.4; the parliament by 21.6, the Army by 46.6, the police by 11.2, trade unions by 9.6 per cent.

Asked whether they were satisfied with the present government, 11.4 per cent of the test participants answered "no" and 13 per cent "very".

Roman Government Said To Lack Experience

AU2003211391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1914 GMT 20 Mar 91

["Agora: The Precipitous Road to Our Reform"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/3/1991—"Sacrifice government"—this is how the young government that assumed the difficult task of the transition to a market economy was termed by the opposition and what it admitted itself to be, writes the daily "ADEVARUL" in its 20 March issue, pointing out that by everything they do and by the many more things they try to do, the Roman government proves to be young, and therefore lacking experience, but that it also is aware of the toll to

pay. But which government in the troubled East of the continent could claim now experience, be it fresh, in the labyrinth of the transition. What government in this agitated world which is now toiling in the throes of creation would dare proclaim its road to the reform as the safely farthest from the flames of sacrifice, wonders the newspaper, stressing that the merits of Mr. Roman's government are those of having ventured on and of keeping the road to the reform. To the string of imperfections and clumsy moves, one could add an equally long string of unquestionable achievements.

While naming the efforts the government has been making as well as the difficulties it has to struggle with in applying the reform, not forgetting however the motivations stirring its contenders, the daily comments: "The contending spirit has reached here a level that many a countries boasting long democratic traditions could envy us for. We have pushed this performance so far that the only thing left for us to do is to look around and see whether there is anyone left watching this strange spectacle we have made of ourselves, to fill in for our emptiness and to offer it free to Europe.

Parties Call For 'Responsible' Government

AU2003213891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2033 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/3/1991—The National Convention for the Establishment of Democracy released on March 20 a "message to the nation" showing that Romania "lives through a grave political, economic, social, ecological and moral crisis" which has led to the setting in of "a feeling of profound worry and insecurity." Referring to "the government's inability to administrate the national economy" the Convention (including the Romanian Ecological Party, the National Liberal Party, the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party, the Romanian Social Democratic Party and the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania) considers among other things that the centralized planning system in economy should be urgently eliminated, that the private sector should be supported and the commercial companies be faster privatized. These measures and many more proposed in the message "cannot be achieved by the current government," which has failed to keep the pledges in its own program, "a fact that has led to a loss of credibility," for which the National Convention for the Establishment of Democracy demands "the formation of a responsible government that should enjoy the nation's confidence and account for a real change in the country's political life," the message concludes.

Energy Sector TU Opposes Price Liberalization

AU2003193791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/3/1991—A communique of "CONSENERG"—the Union Confederation in the power producing sector—says that, considering the economic-financial situation of the commercial companies in the power producing branch, the financial blocking of the economy, the absence of economic effects of the price liberalisation effected on 1 November 1990, it is not opportune to put into effect a new phase of liberalisation on 1 April 1991, as long as no economic-financial conditions are met to ensure the operation of commercial companies as stipulated by Law 31/1990. The communique also specifies that commercial companies are negotiating the collective labour contracts, and the remuneration scale, which cannot be brought to an end as the boards of administration are not structured and approved. It is also mentioned that the maintenance of the centralized regime of distributing resources and raw materials blocks the reform as far as the operation of demand-offer is concerned.

Constituent Assembly Votes on Citizens' Rights

AU2003124791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1006 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/3/1991—During the Tuesday, March 19 session of the Constituent Assembly, parliamentarians canceled the vote for Thesis 13 under Chapter II concerning fundamental rights and liberties of the citizens. As we have seen, during the morning session, the thesis including an amendment proposed by National Salvation Front [FSN] Senator Ioan Predescu stipulating certain considerations related to citizenship and residence of the candidates to parliament, had been validated with 291 votes. Similar conditions were stipulated for Romania's president, which had led the National Liberal Party parliamentarians to ostentatiously leave the audience.

The vote was canceled as a result of consultations among the Constitutional Committee, the Constitution-Drafting Commission and leaders of parliamentarian groups. The reason for reexamining the vote was that the two constitutional provisions contained a number of restrictions which went against international documents signed by Romania.

Referring to that decision, the FSN group leader in the Assembly of Deputies, Mr. Alexandru Albu, underlined that the restrictions included in the amendments proposed and passed in parliament were likely to discourage Romanians in the Diaspora. Subsequently, Mr. Albu said, the FSN group leader in the Assembly of Deputies decided to vote those amendments again.

In his turn, the FSN group leader in the Senate, Mr. Vasile Vacaru, somehow in disagreement with his counterpart in the Assembly of Deputies, asked that disputed questions be sent over to the Constitutional Commission to be set in accordance with international conventions.

In favor of taking a second vote were also Messrs. Sergiu Cunescu, president of the Social Democratic Party of Romania, Dan Lazarescu, National Liberal Party deputy and Ioan Les, member of the Constitution-Drafting Commission.

Upon the second voting, the two amendments were rejected by an overwhelming majority and thesis 13 as a whole was passed with 297 votes in favor.

UVR Voices 'Concern' Over Soviet Referendum

AU2003185391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1652 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/3/1991—"Vatra Romaneasca" [UVR] Union, Cluj branch, has watched with deep concern the preparations made by the central Soviet power for a sham referendum meant to legitimate the survival of an anachronistic and repressive statal form," reads the communique of the Cluj branch. "True to one of its basic principles, our union considers that the sacred rights of a people cannot be wiped off by means that always prompted the expansionist tendencies of the great powers. We regard our brothers in Bessarabia, North Bukovina and Hertza District with respect and admiration for having found the strength to face this new provocation with composure and restraint, thus proving their loyalty to their forbearers, who revered their land, besprinkled with blood, tears and sweat. "Vatra Romaneasca" Union is hereby reasserting its feelings of devotion for the brothers beyond the Prut.

New Parties Register at Municipality Tribunal

AU2003123991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1145 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/03/1991—121 political parties: This is the number of the formations which have applied so far for registration as political parties at the Bucharest Municipality Tribunal. Not all of them were authorized because some of them did not meet the conditions to be declared as parties. Such is the case of the movement for the re-birth and unity of the Romanians everywhere (the presented list included only 22 persons instead of the required 250) and the Orphans' Party considered as having the characteristic of an association.

Starting January 1, 1991, the following formations have applied for registration as political parties: the Orphans' Party, the Pro-Republic of Romania Anti Monarchic League, the Private Owners' Party, the National League of the Dispossessed in Romania, the National Ecologist Party, the Democratic Party of the Romanian Village's Unity (which presented a list of 30,000 people).

FUN-Radio Bucharest Stops Broadcasting

AU2003160291

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 15 March 1991 on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word Tudor Artenie article entitled "FUN-Radio Does Not Broadcast Any Longer."

The article begins with a short history of FUN-Radio Bucharest, a station that started broadcasting on 9 January 1990 under the name of UNI-FUN. This radio station's the equipment belonged to a French firm and was "loaned" to the Romanian employees, young people who were working at the radio station "for pleasure" because, according to the author of the article "they never received a salary and never signed a contract." The only unwritten "agreement" was that the station would not get involved in politics, and would not broadcast "destabilizing news." In May 1990 UNI-FUN was turned into UNI-Radio Bucharest, a French-Romanian mixed company "with limited responsibility" in which "the UNI-Club (set up by the station's program editors) held 17 percent of the capital, Simpa-Turism, a Romanian Tourist Agency, held 15 percent, and the remaining 68 percent belonged to the French firm SERC." Broadcasting approval was signed by Prime Minister Petre Roman. The French side appointed directors and decisions were made without informing the program editors about them. The radio broadcast "17 hours from Paris and only 7 hours from Bucharest. That is, this was not an independent Romanian radio station but a satellite of a French one," which was backed by a French "press magnate" who had a "great economic interest." Artenia says that "the uncertain position of the program editors and their assistants—unpaid and without a work contract—made them react, that is they asked to be paid. They were told that this was not possible because true professionals were going to be employed and these young people would be only assistants. That is all. They have worked for pleasure."

The program editors decided to broadcast their demands every hour but the "leadership of the station stopped the broadcast. The general director wants to sue the rebels, but we do not know what one can accuse people of who worked for pleasure."

Industrial Production, Investments Decrease

AU2103124591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1101 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/3/1991—According to data supplied by the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, in February 1991 a number of 462 units discontinued their activity partially or totally, which affected a number of 255,767 employees. The energy resource shortage that also influenced the material ?ase, increased the tendency of reducing industrial production. In February 1991 industrial production decreased by 2.2 percent as against January this year and by 23.4 percent as against February 1990. The same is true for the first two months of this year as compared with the same time last year. Important production drops are recorded in coal mining, metallurgy, some branches of mechanical engineering, chemistry, cellulose and paper, construction materials. The ever lower supply of domestic and imported energy resources in February 1991 caused their level over the first two months of this year to go much below that of the same time last year.

The amount of contracts and orders available on February 28, 1991 totals 883 billion lei, the equivalent of

about 6 months' production. At the end of February 1991, 24 billion-worth contracts were pending, to be divided as follows: 6.3 billion lei for exports; 12.9 billion lei for production; 2 billion lei for investments; and 2.7 billion lei for the market. The volume?of pending contracts is 10.8 billion lei higher than late last month, affecting especially the deliveries of raw materials and the cooperation between economic agents.

Over the first two months of this year as compared to the same period last year, in?estments totalled only 62.9 percent and construction-assembly works only 54.3 percent, at comparable price levels. During the first two months of the year a number of 1,024 apartments were built with state funds, that is less than half the number of apartments built over the same period last year (2,204).

Prime Minister Receives Head of IMF Mission

AU2103153091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1455 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/3/1991—Today Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received Mr. Moshin Kahn, head of the IMF Mission to Romania, as well as the other members of the mission, who are in Romania for consultations.

Also attending were Messrs. Anton Vatasescu and Eugen Dijmarescu, ministers of state, and Mr. Mugur Isarescu, governor of the National Bank of Romania.

The meeting included an exchange of information and opinions on the process of economic reform in Romania as well as on the cooperation between the IMF and the Romanian institutions concerned, which is meant to support this process.

The Romanian premier stressed inter alia that the second phase of price liberalization and the corresponding social protection—decided upon in the recent cabinet meeting and scheduled to be implemented starting April first, 1991—fully conform to the government's reform programme, to the contents of which the IMF has already expressed its support.

Substantive discussions ensued concerning the main aspects of the second phase of price liberalization, and full agreement was reached on the fact that this liberalization was an integral part of the economic policy the IMF supports also by substantial financing of the economic stabilization and structural adjustment programmes Romania has adopted for 1991 and the following years.

Bratianu Liberal Union Criticizes IMF

AU2003211591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1955 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 21/3/1991—Referring to what he called "the dictatorship of the International Monetary Fund," I.I. Bratianu, chairman of the Bratianu Liberal Union, cautioned in a news conference on March 20 about the "poisonous" assistance the IMF was giving Romania. "The IMF claims to be a bank, but it holds all the capital potential of the West. Wherever the IMF has put a finger," he stressed, "and has given assistance, there has been blood. It has scores of victims, since the IMF is present in all countries where there is a social disbalance. We are selling our independence little by little," I.I. Bratianu also said, accusing the present rulers, the prime minister himself, of the tendency "to play at the hands of the International Monetary Fund."

Spokesman Comments on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU1903214691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2008 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES 19/3/1991—There is no agreement between Romania and the USSR on Soviet Union troops' withdrawal from Hungary across our country's territory, stated government spokesman Bogdan Baltazar at his March 19 news briefing.

In another sequence of ideas, spokesman Baltazar mentioned that the package of proposals comprised in the documents of the recent FSN [National Salvation Front] convention on social protection were espoused also by the government on passing to the second stage of price liberalization. [passage omitted]

Bessarabia Considered 'Essential Problem'

AU2003211791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1921 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/3/1991—The daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" comments on the TASS release on the resolution of the all-country convention of the National Salvation Front, which the Soviet news agency considers to be an interference in the home affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to pressure the Republic of Moldova. "It is us Romanians who continue to be under pressure by KGB for remaining separated from our brothers by a wall as high as that of Berlin. Soviet tanks are cross again the annexed countries, the territories occupied after the will of Stalin. The history of these lands is much richer than Saddam's affiliation of Kuwait? Could the great democracies have forgotten it?," says the aforesaid newspaper.

In "Bessarabia—a daily misfortune" "ROMANIA LIBERA" writes inter alia: We have our problems, that's true. But Bessarabia is an essential problem that must be solved. That's why Romania's Parliament must accept the invitation of Chisinau's [Kishinev] Academy and meet the Parliament in Chisinau, in Iasi, on 27 March, on the anniversary of 73 years since the union of Bessarabia with Romania.

That's no invitation, in fact, but a cry of despair of our brothers of Bessarabia we must be sensitive to... This meeting of the two parliaments will be a historic moment our descendants will be proud or ashamed to read of."

Chisinau Meeting Held With Moldovan Delegation

AU2003211291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1912 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/3/1991—Talks were conducted on March 20 in Chisinau [Kishinev] between a delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova, headed by Nicolae Osmochescu, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and a delegation of Romania's Foreign Ministry, headed by Axente Frasinaru, director. They discussed aspects of the application of the provisions of the convention concluded in Bucharest between the Romanian and USSR Governments referring to the opening the soonest of the consulates in Iasi and Chisinau, MOLDOVA PRES reports.

The two delegations emphasized the importance of the consulates in ensuring best conditions for people's flow on either side of the frontier, for unhampered small traffic, for facilitating bilateral economic and cultural exchanges.

Information was also exchanged on the legislation in force regarding, among other things, matters connected with double citizenship, the passports, the exchange of manpower as well as the setting up of the institution of honorary consul.

Roman Assesses Results of Visit to Chile

AU2003123691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1151 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/03/1991—The visit to Chile, like, in fact, the whole South-American diplomatic tour, was part of our efforts to create a picture of Romania that would favor in the long run the capitalization of its economic and cultural potential by expanding relations with countries of that continent, Premier Petre Roman told ROMPRES special envoy upon conclusion of his visit to Chile.

The premier said that Romania needed broader openness to the world community, since its economy was not naturally connected to the world economy. We are taking the first steps to that effect. Speaking concretely of our relations with Chile, Premier Roman mentioned that Romania is interested to take part in copper mining because it badly needs that metal. It is also interested in Chilean fishing technology, as well as in other fields. Geographical distance should not be seen as a major impediment. Mr. Petre Roman also underlined his interest in that country's experience in the transition to a market economy, financial policy, etc.

We have reasons to be satisfied about the visit. We have been given a warm welcome. We identified objectives of mutual interest. Moreover, we concluded with the Chilean Government agreements apt to facilitate the attainment of such objectives. We agreed that 3 Chilean business missions come to Romania to study collaboration possibilities, Premier Petre Roman announced, adding that the visit had also been interesting in the political and diplomatic fields, Romania being considered by Chile, due to its Latinity, as a linking bridge to the other countries in the area.

Vatasescu Statements on Arrival From Vienna

AU1503125291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1050 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1991—On his arrival from Vienna, where he took part in a meeting organized under the United Nations aegis by the Economic Commissions for Europe and for Latin America, Anton Vatasescu, minister of state for industry and trade told the press the meeting that brought together representatives of most Central and East European countries was aimed at debating aspects of the transition to the market economy, some of the countries concerned having an experience of about 15 years in the field. Great similarities between transition phenomena in various countries have been noticed, says Mr. Vatasescu, especially as far as the repayment of foreign debt, the implementation of foreign capital and its evolutions, privatisation or de-nationalization are concerned."

Minister Anton Vatasescu also specified that during his visit to Austria he had talks on bilateral issues with the chancellor of this country, with the minister of state for the relations with the East European countries, with the chairman of the Federal Chamber of Commerce. "On the occasion I tried to put forth as clearly as possible the present situation in Romania, the opportunities our country offers to foreign investors. We were sorry to realize that the activity of Austrian businessmen in Romania was insignificant, but we agreed, all of us, that Romania was a field of ideal opportunity for advantageous business in various fields of activity."

Jovic Explains Reasons for Resignation

CM2103130091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0928 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Speech by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic at the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] I set out the basic reasons why I decided to submit my resignation as a member and therefore also as president of the SFRY Presidency in the letter I submitted to the Serbian Assembly and in the statement to the Yugoslav public. Permit me to explain in greater detail the reasons for and the circumstances under which I did this.

I made this decision because recently among the majority of SFRY Presidency members an attitude prevailed that supported the unconstitutional and unlawful actions leading to the disintegration of the country. This policy of fait accompli is putting individual nations and republics into an unequal position, which could provoke a civil war. I am not prepared to accept such a policy or take responsibility for it.

The last three-day session of the SFRY Presidency in its capacity as supreme commander of our Armed Forces definitely confirmed such an attitude among most members of the SFRY Presidency on this most sensitive issue—upon which a peaceful and democratic resolution of the Yugoslav crisis rests—on the question of the function and implementation of the constitutional role of the SFRY Armed Forces.

The stance adopted by most SFRY Presidency members was conducive to a paralysis of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] (that is, of our country's Armed Forces) and made it impossible for it, in performing its role as laid down by our constitution and laws, to guarantee and ensure the conditions for a peaceful and democratic development of the Yugoslav political crisis and to prevent the outbreak of civil war in our country. They resisted the establishment of the necessary conditions under which their own previous decisions and order can be carried out.

Thus the majority of the SFRY Presidency members expressed their readiness to accept not only what happened unconstitutionally within the JNA and the country's Armed Forces, but also the continuation of developments in the same direction according to the same scenario; although it represents a dangerous weakening of the country's defense capability, inequality for those who do not use such actions, and an imminent danger of conflicts.

Some public statements to the effect that the SFRY Presidency did not adopt the proposal of the Supreme Command Headquarters because it opted for a democratic way out of the crisis are sheer public deception. The proposed measures of alert in the SFRY's Armed Forces did not constitute a decision to use armed forces units, particularly not to use the Army for the resolution of the political crisis in Yugoslavia, but rather to enable it to guarantee the prevention of looming interethnic armed conflicts and a civil war and to secure conditions for the peaceful, democratic, and constitutionally based resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

The declaration of the state of alert was directly connected with previously adopted decisions to place the country's defense system within the framework established by the SFRY Constitution (i.e., regarding the consistent implementation of an order on disarming and disbanding illegally armed units, stances on commanding the territorial defense and performing obligations from the scope of national military service) because the unilateral decision of some republics was depriving the Army of new recruits.

The rejection of the Supreme Command Headquarters proposal is an expression of systematically created mistrust in the honest intentions of the JNA that permeated the SFRY Presidency itself and which is an aspiration to paralize and liquidate the last point of support of our country's survival - the JNA, which is the real guarantor of equality among nations in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. Such a stance by the majority of the SFRY Presidency members opened a dangerous path toward the chaotic disintegration of the country and considerably reduced possibilities to find a peaceful and democratic way out of the crisis.

Instead of decisions proposed by the Supreme Command Headquarters, certain members of the SFRY Presidency are offering intensification of political negotiations on the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, while everyone knows that the very same members did everything to delay the negotiations while work on the unilateral disintegration of the constitutional order of the country was under way. This rejection of proposed decisions serves the function of the policy as fait accompli rather than the intensification of political negotiations.

The reasons for my resignation are much more profound. They are not rooted in this immediate cause, although the cause itself is sufficent.

We are confronting systematic attempts to cause difficulties precisely in those activities of the SFRY Presidency for which it bears most responsibility. Until recently, the SFRY Presidency managed to maintain a majority on a positive policy of devising an equitable and democratic way out of the crisis in Yugoslavia, although the adoption of one-sided, arbitrary, and unconstitutional acts has long prevailed in individual republics.

The exceptionally complex and ineffective procedure of foiling unconstitutional actions, which in practice emerge and take shape much faster than one can nullify and effectively prevent them from the constitutional and legal viewpoint, has helped the situation. In addition, the powerlessness, inefficiency, and opportunism of the

country's top entities, especially of the Federal Executive Council (FEC), to resist this practice has contributed to this unenviable situation.

The country has entered a critical state of its constitutional and legal disintegration, which is carried out systematically and with increasing resolve and success by secessionist and separatist forces. I am aware that this destructive practice, which we are in no position to curb effectively, is threatening to take lead us to our country's collapse, into catastrophic interethnic conflicts, and civil war; it is also to the direct detriment of the immediate and historic interests of the whole country. I also believe that it is not difficult to perceive that it especially affects the interests of the Republic of Serbia and of the Serbian people. A man in the street cannot become reconciled to that sort of situation, let alone one of us who bears responsibility for the future of our country.

Esteemed people's deputies, allow me to explain in greater detail my assessments about the current political and security situation in Yugoslavia, the social and economic situation in which we find ourselves, the efforts to resolve the political crisis in the country, and the status of Serbia and the tasks that we in the republic should carry out.

Working in the SFRY Presidency I based my entire activity strictly on the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, convinced that this is in the interests of all the peoples and citizens of our country and therefore also in the interest of the Serbian people and of the citizens of the Republic of Serbia. In doing this, I proceeded from the fact the citizens in Serbia and the Serbian people wish to build in peace, friendship, and on an equal basis with other Yugoslav peoples the kind of system of relations that will secure for everyone a stable prospect of development and incorporation in contempary European and international developments.

For a long time we managed to ensure formally in the SFRY Presidency, although with considerable difficulty, a majority for Yugoslav orientation and respect of our country's constitutional system, but in practice this orientation encountered unsurmountable obstacles. We indentified all the dangers regarding the future of our country in time, saying that the country was facing collapse and civil war unless we immediately started to discuss the political issues concerning our future: living together or separate in peace. The SFRY Presidency's insistence that solutions for the growing problems, including constitutional problems, be sought by agreement and in a constitutional manner, without prejudging the issue and presenting others with a fait accompli, amounted to futile statements and blatant ignoring of all the conclusions and positions of this top entity of the country by the responsible authorities in the republics as well as in the federation.

For a long time the FEC hindered and ignored the SFRY Presidency's efforts, persistently claiming that the danger of the country's collapse was exaggerated and that all the problems would be resolved by the incipient economic reform. In doing so, it helped, objectively speaking, the forces of disintegration and of the country's breakup, regardless of whether it did not see what the actual problems of the country were, or if it deliberately concealed them.

The situation continued to deteriorate as time went on, and interethnic and inter-republican intolerance became rampant up to the manifestation of the most primitive kind of chauvinism and vengefulness. General mistrust and fear were growing and a ruthless public information media war completely divided our information area, making it impossible for the Yugoslav public to be informed objectively and accurately. The work of the SFRY Presidency was becoming more difficult also because of the changes in its membership and because of the increasing way the real situation in the republics was reflected among the SFRY Presidency members.

The collapse of our country's constitutional system entered a dramatic phase when our defense and Armed Forces system and the system of financing the federation began to crumble.

The plan for the disintegration of the federal institution, ranging from the SFRY presidency to the JNA, is being carried out by bringing the federal budget to the verge of bankruptcy. This is the continuation of the activities that began with the attempts to paralyze the work of the federal authorities and to prevent their meetings by emphasizing reasons that bore no relation to the significance of the issues, the discussion of which was being delayed.

Because of the disastrous economic policy and the general impoverishment and bankruptcy of the economy (but also because of their deliberate political intention) some republics adopted decisions saying that they would no longer meet their obligations to the federation; i.e., they would keep their revenue and give to the federation only as much as they themselves decided. The federation and its bodies reached a position whereby they frequently had to beg the republics to give them what constitutionally and legally belongs to them. There is no doubt that it is a part of a perfidiously planned activity aimed at the destruction of federal bodies and their silent liquidation aimed at the preconceived, spontaneous disintegration of the country. As a result, the JNA was brought to the very brink of poverty.

At the same time, however, republican armies and quasi-militia formations are being formed for whose work republican budgets have ample funds, regardless of the fact that these activities are at odds with the SFRY Constitution and the law on national defense. Regulations are being adopted under which recruits are no longer obliged to perform their military service in the JNA. If all these regulations are implemented—and there is every likelihood that it will happen if nothing

serious is done against this, particularly if others follow—it will mean that the JNA will be virtually liquidated in several months. All those who did not arm themselves and who relied on the JNA as the guarantor of peace and equality were left unarmed and swindled. It is not difficult to understand that it should be the case primarily with the Serbian people, but not only with them. We cannot reconcile ourselves to such a position.

It is asserted that republican weapons are not of such a capacity as to enable a successful attack on the JNA. The question then arises: For what is it intended? The only reply can be that it is directed against those who are not armed, and if they arm themselves, it is leading nowhere except to interethnic conflicts and a civil war.

The destruction of the constitutional order has been worked on persistently and systematically for a long time now. One by one the foundation stones of Yugoslavia have been crumbling.

There are innumerable examples. The Security Service of Yugoslavia has virtually been broken up and paralyzed, and now members of republican services are spending more time spying on each other than cooperating. Republican armies are being formed completely publicly. Organized and spontaneous armament of citizens takes place daily. Indecisiveness by the SFRY Presidency to disarm paramilitary organizations can cause rapid, total armament of citizens and nations, who are losing confidence in the legal institutions of the system and who are creating conditions for their own defense. Fear and general tension are rising, and it is only a question of time before an indirect reason will cause tragic conflicts.

It is obvious that we were neither determined enough nor successful in countering unconstitutional behavior and the policy intended to destroy the country. Unfortunately the advocates of this policy have been more forceful and more skillful and, in any case, more successful. This is borne out by the fact that their policy has prevailed over the declared policy to resolve the political crisis through political negotiations on an equal basis and constitutionally.

I must stress that the 1974 Constitution was formulated in such a way as to favor those who wanted the country to disintegrate while also hampering the efforts of the federal authorities responsible for safeguarding its totality, sovereignty, and independence and endangering those whose interests would be threatened by the disintegration.

It can rightly be said that the foundations for the country's disintegraiton were laid down by the authors of the 1974 Constitution, who thus left the country's fate at the mercy of their successors.

The constitutional system as outlined by the 1974 Constitution had particularly disastrous consequences for the Republic of Serbia and the Serbian nation by destroying its unity and thus paving the way for separatist and secessionist currents initially in the Republic of Serbia and then in Yugoslavia as a whole.

Nevertheless, with its 1989 constitutional changes, Serbia succeeded in achieving the impossible in alleviating the consequences of those disastrous solutions in a constitutional way and to win its state and territorial unity. This was made possible by the enormous determination of the Serbian people and the majority of Serbia's citizens who, once they became united, succeeded in destroying the irrational and undemocratic formula of partitioning the Republic. The partitioning of the Serbian nation has become a current issue once again in light of the threats to the country's survival. The lack of any serious cohesive force to fight for its survival has proven to be essential. It seems that a state can very easily be destroyed but it is very difficult to preserve. We must learn from this, and to that end, formulate a realistic policy that would be in the interest of both Serbia and the Serbian people.

The constitutional system began to deteriorate as a result of the need to transform our entire society and its political institutions in the direction of political pluralism and market economy and of the need to secure modern standards of human freedom and rights and general democracy. Unfortunately, under our conditions the process of democratization was abused and used by separatist forces to wreck the country and its legal institutions.

The escalation of the crisis of Yugoslavia's constitutional system in the period between 1988 and 1990 necessitated the opening of a process of its transformation toward its adaptation to contemporary requirements and demands. The constitutional reform started as an expession of the will and mood of our society. To attain this, several amendments to the 1974 Constitution were adopted in 1988. They represented the beginning of necessary although minimal changes. Even at that stage the forces in favor of the country's disintegration defined the principle that not a single change signifying the consolidation of our joint federal state could be accepted, and for all intents and purposes, this was to the advantage of everything that further weakened and wrecked [the federal state].

Subsequent events demonstrate an absolute consistency displayed by the protagonists of these stances to which everyone had to become subordinated if they wanted any joint solution to the approved. Without doubt this amounted to serious obstacles being placed on the processes of the necessary transformation of our political system.

While Europe is aspiring to even greater and even firmer integration, the forces of division, split, and disintegration, running counter to the logic of progress, have gained the upper hand in Yugoslavia. Men of commonsense and well-meaning people throughout the world take the view that to impose a collapse on the country is

not only senseless politically but also very harmful economically. Innocent citizens of our community do not deserve to be victims of illogical and retrogade aspirations by ambitious politicians.

Even in the absence of single institutional conditions in the country as a whole, democratic multiparty elections took place in all the republics, and pluralist assemblies have been formed with the result that our community as a whole has remained powerless before the aggressive nature of the forces aspiring to breakup the country. They abused their formal powers and frustrated multiparty elections for the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber so when its term of office expires they can contribute even more to the disintigration of the federal state. These very republics pay lip service to Yugoslavia's entry into European institutions, but by foiling multiparty elections for the Federal Chamber they are working most directly against this entry.

Further processes of our society's democratization should be carried out and implemented through a comprehensive constitutional reform. For all intents and purposes, this has been deadlocked by the simple fact that some no longer want to live in a joint state. When it seemed that the commitment for a democratic development gained general agreement among our public, the forces of separatism merely intensified their activities to eliminate and frustrate the legal efforts and developments regarding the constitutional transformation of the Yugoslav federation and intensified unilateral changes, not heeding the jointly assumed obligations or the rights and interests of others.

Retrograde political tendencies of the return to obsolete concepts and orientations that encourage national insularity and narrow-mindedness have also come to the fore. This creates serious difficulties in the way of the democratic development and of the development of genuine political pluralism. Tendencies of political totalitarianism on extremist nationalistic and even chauvinistic foundations have been manifested behind the facades of antisocialism and overt vengefulness. All this was specifically reflected in the work of the SFRY Presidency as well.

These forces and tendencies began to carry out their positions and aspirations through specific processes of the blockade of the constitutional authority of the Yugoslav federation vis-a-vis their efforts to carry out democratic processes and constitutional changes. It was soon shown that these were well organized efforts to provoke first a process of the specific Lebanonization of Yugoslavia and subsequently its final collapse as well.

Clearly and publicly we set out our stance to the effect that there is no need for a war to allow a people to fulfill their right to seccession, and that only a democratically expressed will of the people at a referendum is required, but this was not accepted. As events unfolded it was shown that the objectives of these forces were much wider and that we were dealing with a tendency to usurp other people's rights and also to destabilize politically the whole country, especially the republics whose political orientation was not to the liking of the protagonists of these forces.

Despite everything, and proceeding from the assumption that our crisis can be resolved only through political means, and that peace is required for that, I channeled my involvement in the SFRY Presidency in two directions. On the one hand to ensure the functioning of the constitutional system until the necessary reform has been carried out in a constitutional manner, and, on the other hand, that the solution of the constitutional crisis in a democratic way be bolstered within the framework of the existing institutions—through agreement among our republics, taking account of the equality of the Yugoslav peoples.

Activities were conducted on both fronts but they encountered opposition, blockades, the imposition of one-sided documents, and attempts to implement the policy of so-called fait accompli designed to safeguard only parochial interests.

For some time the majority of the SFRY Presidency members tried to oppose unconstitutional conduct and documents in a principled way. It became evident at the more recent sessions of the Presidency that the view that illegaly executed changes could not be annuled was gaining ground. This meant that, objectively speaking, the SFRY Presidency was beginning to accept the policy of fait accompli.

This was taking place at a time when the process of the destruction of the country's constitutional order was assuming such proportions that individual republics were allowed to adopt decisions suspending completely the Yugoslav legal system as well as the powers of the Yugoslav state's legal and constitutional bodies. Efforts by the Yugoslav Constitutional Court to annul the validity of the republics' documents have simply been ignored.

To understand current processes I must outline our main activities in resolving the constitutional crisis and give you an idea of the constant attempts to hamper negotiations and blatant attempts to impose unilateral decisions and solutions.

At the beginning of 1990 the SFRY Presidency presented the Federal Assembly with an initiative for a new constitution. This initiative was blocked by some of the republics that had already at that time made it clear that they wanted to break away from the Yugoslav federation.

We saw the way out of that situation in the proposal for an agreement on a future state between those republics and nations that wanted to continue living together and an agreement on secession with the republics that decided in its favor.

In view of this the SFRY Presidency produced yet another initiative to regulate, from both the constitutional and legal viewpoint, the process of separation from the Yugoslav federation. The departure point was a nation's right to self-determination, including the right to secede but also the insistence that these rights be implemented in a legal, peaceful, and democratic way.

This initiative was also rejected by certain republics with the clear aim of partitioning Yugoslavia. To this end they offered a confederal system that the majority found difficult to accept. Under such circumstances the SFRY Presidency made a fresh move. The SFRY Assembly was sent a program of measures to resolve the constitutional crisis. This program proceeded from an idea of a referendum in which the citizens of each republic would be able to choose democratically between the federal and the confederal concepts of our future community.

This initiative, too, was blocked and virtually frustrated. An open call was issued for a choice between either a confederation or the total disintegration of the Yugoslav federal community.

One last attempt was made. The SFRY Presidency organized talks on Yugoslavia's future with the presidents of the republics and the presidents of the SFRY Assembly and the FEC. Following prolonged and fruitless talks, no progress was made on overcoming initial differences. In addition all this was accompanied by various forms of blackmail and delays.

The same fate befell this attempt. First, there were attempts to avoid and prolong negotiations. This was followed by quite blatant attempts to eliminate the services of the federation and to transform the talks into negotiations among the republics with the aim of excluding the Yugoslav state and to devalue its status of a factor in the efforts to resolve the country's constitutional crisis. The desire here is obviously to eliminate the Yugoslav law-governed state and to make decisions based on the balance of forces that, as a result of the current unconstitutional position, has become totally disrupted.

This same process continues, and we are now faced with fresh attempts of a similar nature. Serbia has a great number of reasons to preserve, so as to help in a democratic and peaceful way to find solutions that would be in the interest of the citizens of Serbia and the entire Serbian nation. At the same time Serbia has even more reason to energetically oppose attempts to destroy the country because this would be detrimental to the interests of the Serbian nation. The public is familiar with the stances advocated by the Republic of Serbia in these negotiations. The people's assembly has given us its support and endorsement. Constant communicatoins with and a more direct role and influence of the people's assembly will be needed in our future work on finding solutions in line with its constitutional right and duties.

Respected deputies, for you to understand fully the situation in our society, it is necessary for me to speak about both the economic and social welfare situation because they influence the mood of the people and have created an unfavorable climate for resolving social crisis.

When I addressed the public on the occasion of my resignation from the SFRY Presidency, I said that the FEC's mistaken economic policy had bankrupted both the economy and the society as a whole. Allow me to speak about this in a greater detail.

In the SFRY Presidency we dealt with the issues of the country's economic policy in an disorganized way and purely for informative purposes, primarily because of the conduct of the FEC and its president. We would be kept in the dark about any new steps right until the day they had to be decided upon. We would then be briefly informed about them and, as a rule, only short verbal briefings, before they were to be presented to the SFRY Assembly. The public would be told about our support although the SFRY Presidency was almost never given the opportunity to state its views. We avoided denying our support so as not to exacerbate even more the already complicated situation and relations. The same style of work continues to be employed today.

When the problems in the social area started to become rather complicated, the SFRY Presidency seriously tackled the economic policy; at the end of 1990 it warned the FEC that considerable adjustments in this area had to be carried out. In its conclusions dated 20 December 1990, the SFRY Presidency drew the FEC's attention to the fact that a significant disparity existed between the actual developments and the 1990 economic policy central objectives and tasks. It also noted that although inflation had been considerably reduced it was approximately 10 times as high as anticipated, that the social product and industrial production shortfall was much greater than expected, and that the recession was more protracted than ever. On the other hand, most forms of expenditure had escaped social control and were registering a growth in real terms, which was opening up an inflationary pressure that had yet to materialize fully. It was noted that the expected influx of foreign capital and the announced beginning of an investment cycle had failed to materialize, that exports had started to stagnate, that the trade deficit had attained extremely great dimensions, that instead of a surplus the balance of payments had begun to register a deficit, and that our foreign currency reserves had begun to decline. Attention was drawn to the fact that the uncontrolled flow of social property into private hands was in defiance of market criteria, that losses in the economy and banking alone were higher than our country's foreign debt, and that the cash flow problems in these areas and the deficit in the public expenditure sector were so big that there was a threat of a collapse of the country's financial and banking system. We warned that in many important sectors in our economic life, the market was restricted and, in some instances, even suspended and that in these circumstances social tension had strongly come to the fore and that it could even worsen.

The SFRY Presidency believed that certain adjustments had to be carried out in the current model of our economic policy, the core of which should be an anti-inflation policy coupled with halting any further fall of production. It drew attention to the absolute need to open up our country's development prospects.

The SFRY Presidency reiterated a similar option on several subsequent occasions but to no avail. The FEC pursued its policy, disregarding the fact that the situation continued to deteriorate, with the results that a significant sector of the economy went bankrupt and enormous social tension and problems occurred.

One wonders therefore why this should be the case and how one can explain the fact that foreign countries provide comprehensive support, admittedly only verbal instead of financial support, for the FEC policy. In my view this support is logical for the following reasons:

First, as a result of the FEC policy, the market was, in a harsh and inappropriate [neodmeren] manner, taken away from our domestic economy and handed over to the foreigners. The level of restrictions imposed on imports and the protection of domestic production are disproportionate to the realistic productivity of our economy with the result that it has been made unviable and forced to go into bankruptcy. Of course, it suits the foreigners to acquire our market for the sake of their goods. No reasonable person can be and is not against the liberalization of imports and gradual increase in foreign competition, but what we are talking about is a measure that should have a positive impact on the productivity and modernization of our economy.

Second, this FEC policy has caused and is still causing large- scale bankruptcies and liquidation of many enterprises, which are forced to sell their property to foreigners at knockdown prices. Of course, this suits the foreigners because a sale is the best way to cheap purchases and big profits.

Third, by pursuing this policy we lose our savings and financial development resources, which places our country in a position that is totally dependent on foreign countries. This is the way to make us politically dependent as well. Yugoslavia is viewed as a country in which ideological revolution has not quite been completed and where this revolution can be carried out most easily by making the country dependent both economically and financially.

Fourth, this economic policy is part and parcel of a concept regarding an accelerated privatization of our economy through bankruptcies and the sale of our factories to foreigners, of course, because there is no domestic capital. It has been shown that the future of millions of unemployed people is being subordinated to ideological prejudice because the policy has to be implemented regardless of what will happen to the workers and their families.

Foreign countries also provide ample support for this on account of their political and ideological interests. I will quote only one example to show to what extent both ideological and political interests are present: Recently I gave an interview to [Arthur Ochs] Sulzberger, the distinguished journalist from the NEW YORK TIMES, at his request. During this interview, which lasted for almost two hours, I gave detailed and realistic answers to all the question presented to me, believing that this was an opportunity, through this influential medium, to tell the world the actual truth about Yugoslavia and, of course, about Serbia. Sulzberger handed in the text and got his fee for it, but to this very day the text has not yet been published. Why? Well, they do not like what I said because it does not tally with their truth about Yugoslavia. They have their own concept and their own interest and for them this interest is stronger than both freedom and democracy.

The differences of views regarding the economic policy pursued by the FEC are already known to the public. They cannot be concealed from foreign partners either. Influential countries keep on sending us official messages to the effect that they do not intend to enter into the disputes between the SFRY Presidency and the FEC policy. At the same time the FEC, through its vice president, informs them that the FEC does not agree with the likely measures for disarming paramilitary formations in the country. The FEC and the governments of influential states work in unison. I can understand these countries—they have their own interest and objectives—but one must ask the question whether the interests of our country and of our workers and citizens are protected or threatened by this policy.

This dangerous economic policy is meeting increasing criticism because it is obvious that it is leading us into an abyss.

This policy manages to survive because of a general confusion and the lack of orientation created by the FEC's vehement propaganda in its favor and because of the political confrontations between the republics that have stopped believing each other even when it is obvious that because of their common predicament they should unite. It can be said that it is Serbia that has suffered most because of the FEC's policy. The developed republics (i.e., Slovenia and Croatia) enjoy a higher level of productivity and, although they are also in a difficult position, can naturally cope much better with the FEC's tactless policy of opening the market. The underdeveloped republics expected to survive on the basis of planned contributions from the federal budget and the development fund. They have, however, been only partially compensated. With its below-average productivity and its contributions to the undeveloped but without any compensation from the federation, Serbia has found itself in the most difficult situation.

No one will admit, of course, that this is directed against Serbia and that it is part of a plan to divide and weaken Serbia by social unrest, which would be inevitably provoked by such a policy.

Let us hope that Serbia will find the way to survive until others in Yugoslavia come to their senses and realize that they will also be ruined if such policy is allowed to continue.

Esteemed peoples' deputies, we are in the grip of a policy of fait accompli, a policy intended to partition the country on the basis of unilateral, arbitrary, and unconstitutional decisions. Nondemocratic disintegration of this kind would compel Serbia and the Serbian nation into sustaining new casualties and suffering to defend its identity and fight for it survival, for which they had to pay a very high price in the not to distant past.

Serbia and the Serbian people insist on a democratic way of resolving the Yugoslav crisis and will do their utmost to defend themselves against a fait accompli policy and its detrimental effects.

Serbia and the Serbian people have no reason to stop others from making decisions about their future, but by the same token they cannot and will not accept solutions imposed on them by others.

Serbia is Yugoslavia's largest republic and the Serbian nation the most numerous. In the search for just solutions to the country's political future, we do not proceed from these facts, rather we insist on equality for each nation, regardless of its size, and on each nation's right to decide on its own fate We do not strive for the creation of the so-called great Serbia, but for the preservation of a common state in which the Serbian people together with other peoples will enjoy equal national and civil rights. We are not opposed to the self-determination and secession of every nation that decides to do so.

We must remain aware, however, that on the road to fulfill these justified national aspirations we shall encounter serious obstacles resulting from unconstitutional methods and steps, which will lead to the disintegration of our common state in a way likely to threaten the interests of Serbia and the Serbian nation and cause civil war.

We must counter these unconstitutional steps in an organized and determined way.

Only a few days ago, at a very serious moment for Serbia, this assembly demonstrated that it was up to its historical responsibilities. This raises the hope that political life in the republic and its democratic development will be dominated by a spirit of responsibility for the vital interests of Serbia and the Serbian nation and that we must unite around these interests, regardless of party affiliations.

We must do our utmost to achieve unity in Serbia in a democratic way, steadfastly and patiently, to develop our standpoints and to make decisions, while never forgetting the interests of the whole. We shall be as strong as we are wise.

The events that happened recently in the Republic of Serbia coincided with the culmination of the Yugoslav crisis. Because of inadequate information and poor reciprocal communications, misunderstandings obviously occurred and wrong conclusions were drawn. The wish to introduce a state of emergency or military administration was attributed to our republic. Today, it is clear to everyone what this is all about. What was at stake was our persistent effort to protect the Serbian people outside our republic from the way in which the SFRY Presidency's order disbanding illegal paramilitary organizations was to be implemented. Unfortunately, this was not accepted and the staff of the Supreme Command was forced to inform the public yesterday that the JNA cannot accept responsibility for any further illegal arming of the citizens and their organization along military lines in any part of the Yugoslav territory. Everyone will have to draw a lesson from this, including the Serbian people.

Esteemed people's deputies, I am asking you to understand and accept my resignation from my office in the SFRY Presidency as my personal opposition to specific decisions and political violence to the law-governed state that flagrantly infringe equality, especially the equality of the Serbian people.

My resignation is also a symbolic warning to the Yugoslav public at large that a quest for ways out of our difficult social and political crisis must be tackled in a most serious way. It is also a warning to the democratic forces in the county to do everything they can to stop the prolonged agony of Yugoslavia and to involve themselves more resolutely so solutions acceptable to all the citizens, nations, and nationalities living in this area can be devised in a democratic way and as soon as possible. Yugoslav citizens are entitled to a much better life than the one that has been imposed on them so far.

I am prepared to bear full personal responsibilty for everything I did and for every decision I endorsed. The social upheaval, however, which chaos and civil war threaten to bring about requires that all our democratic public, citizens, people's representatives, and social institutions should resist it too.

Mesic Expects Continued Political Complications

AU1903105191 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 19 Mar 91 p 1

[Melita H. Sunjic report on interview with "acting Yugoslav President" Stipe Mesic on 18 March; place not given: "Serbs Will Provoke"]

[Text] Ultimately, it will be possible to find a political solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia, while for the near future one must expect excesses and provocations by Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia. This was stated by acting

Yugoslav President Stipe Mesic in an interview with WIENER ZEITUNG yesterday.

As far as the immediate future is concerned, Mesic expects "that the situation will become even more complicated." Mesic believes that the insurgent Serbs around the Croat city of Knin are planning "diverse excesses to provoke our intervention." Yet, Croatia is prepared for such actions and will react appropriately. "There will be another Knin in Bosnia," Mesic said, alluding to the separation of the Serbs of Knin from the Croat republic, which does not have a legal basis.

Asked whether he had any concrete information about it, Mesic said: "I have some information and I know how to draw conclusions." Mesic considers the insurgent Serbs of Knin to be a "small indoctrinated minority in the service of others." Of the Serbs?—"Yes."

Mesic thinks that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who has suffered various setbacks, is trying to win the support of the opposition in his republic by offering pan-Serbian options. Mesic: "Milosevic will now try to find external enemies to unite the country internally. Yet, his plan is doomed to fail."

Mesic also believes it to be very unlikely that the state of emergency is imposed or that the military take over power: "There are enough reasonable forces in the military who know that the Army cannot solve the crisis but only make things worse." Mesic made a point by stating that he regards Defense Minister Veljko Kadijevic as one of the "reasonable forces."

Although it is challenged by Serbia, Mesic regards himself as the acting chairman of the State Presidency after the resignation of Serbia's Borisav Jovic. Mesic argued that it would have been his turn to assume this office on 15 May anyway. Still, for the transition period the Serbian Assembly may nominate a successor and propose him as chairman. Nevertheless, it would have to be confirmed by the federal legislature.

Even after the withdrawal of Serbia and its allies, Montenegro and Vojvodina, Mesic thinks that the State Presidency is still functional. "When last year the Croat seat in the State Presidency was vacant for two months after the resignation of my predecessor nobody said that this body was not functional."

Sees 'Suicide' of State Presidency

AU1903173091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 91 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic by Sanja Modric in Zagreb on 17 March: "The Failure of an Ordered 'Killing'"]

[Text] Zagreb—After several days of rushing between Zagreb and Belgrade, Stipe Mesic was at his workplace even yesterday, Sunday. He agreed to the interview with BORBA after a brief hesitation, saying that he had a lot of work to do and that "he could today drop in at home for a change."

[Modric] Do you think that the resignations of Borisav Jovic and Nenad Bucin and Milosevic's demand for Riza Sapundziju's replacement will be in effect the federal Presidency's suicide?

[Mesic] I do not at all think that we are talking about the suicide of the collective head of state, but simply a failed ordered "killing," obviously ordered by Slobodan Milosevic and carried out by Borisav Jovic. The "victim" has survived however, and, despite some injuries, I think that its health is not at all critical.

Everything According to Procedure

[Modric] So the SFRY Presidency is continuing to work as normal?

[Mesic] Definitely. If Jovic's resignation is adopted at the next session of the Assembly of Serbia, I will automatically take over the post of president as an acting president, which will last until the election of a new president—that is, until 15 May.

[Modric] How do you interpret the fact that Serbian President Milosevic has renounced the legitimacy of the state Presidency?

[Mesic] Well, listen. Milosevic can say that he does not recognize the United Nations but it will continue to work nevertheless. Moreover, this is not a problem for the United Nations but only a problem for Milosevic. With his statement on not recognizing the authority of the present SFRY Presidency, Milosevic has once again "impressively" demonstrated that he has never wanted an agreement on restructuring Yugoslavia, but that his aim was to again create a centralist and unitarist Yugoslavia, which has already been seen here.

This "great fighter for the democratic rights of all peoples and nationalities and all citizens" has suddenly forgotten that the SFRY President had his full support at a time when the members would outvote Stipe Mesic and Janez Drnovsek. At that time he did not challenge these decisions at all because they were to his advantage.

He defended the legitimacy of the SFRY Presidency even when on a decision of the majority of members, this Presidency brought the Army onto the streets of Belgrade because this saved Milosevic's neck and his political line. When the Presidency stopped voting in the way that Milosevic wanted, he proclaimed it to be the destroyer of Yugoslavia, a traitor, and therefore "dead to Serbia."

[Modric] As is well-known, Milosevic does not have the authorization of the Serbian legislature and therefore the citizens of Serbia to make such a statement.

[Mesic] The citizens of Serbia know how to think and they will decide on this themselves. No one in Yugoslavia or Serbia wants to wage war and I am sure that

under the pressure of the democratic public in Serbia even Milosevic will have to give way. I am convinced that even the greatest political innocents will now understand that Milosevic was afraid of agreements among the Yugoslav republics that are certain to be reached soon.

A group of experts of the SFRY Presidency has come up with certain functions of the Yugoslav association that would be acceptable for everyone. An association is deliberately being discussed and not a federation or confederation because we care about reaching agreement, so lawyers can then later decide what this should be called. Therefore, when the agreement became a quite real thing, Milosevic used his final trump card—a blockade of the state Presidency. What entirely lies behind this is the fact that a democratic agreement does not suit him because an agreement would mean the collapse of the political line which Milosevic represents.

We Must Be Honest

[Modric] Milosevic himself claims that in Serbia there is no reason for a state of emergency, but he has announced the mobilization of the militia reserve forces.

[Mesic] This is a question for Milosevic and not for me. It is clear that we are talking about a total contradiction.

[Modric] Could you comment on the attempt to remove the Kosovo representative Riza Sapundziju from the SFRY Presidency?

[Mesic] The supposed fighters for legality and constitutionality, who are now challenging the powers of the state Presidency, also think that they can replace Sapundziju, although he was elected by the legal Assembly of the Province of Kosovo. Only the Kosovo Assembly can decide on Riza's replacement in the SFRY Presidency, and the only chance of this discussion being initiated at all is to revive this Assembly. Perhaps Milosevic has realized that he must do this and will make use of Riza Sapundziju's "disobedience" to restore the Kosovo Assembly.

[Modric] Borisav Jovic made a statement on Saturday evening in which he stated that he has never advocated a military coup in the Presidency. The public has heard the statements from the sessions, but you have attended them, so you can tell us whether Jovic has been telling the truth.

[Mesic] I can guarantee that Jovic really has not advocated military intervention. He has advocated the introduction of a state of emergency of general mobilization and raising combat readiness to the level that the Army leadership assesses to be necessary. So, this boils down to the same thing.

[Modric] Does Veljko Kadijevic's absence from the last session of the SFRY Presidency mean that the Army is ignoring the collective head of state?

[Mesic] We must be honest and say that first of all we convened the Presidency session only among members of the Presidency and only later did we decide to also invite the government head, the president of the SFRY Presidency, and the minister of defense.

We managed to quickly find our colleagues Markovic and Gligorijevic but, as we were informed, Kadijevic was traveling at that time. We received the promise that he would get in touch as soon as he returned, but the session ended, and I do not know whether Kadijevic perhaps got in touch after that.

[Modric] Do you have the impression that the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council are now working on the same task?

[Mesic] Absolutely. We are adhering to the Constitution and the law, and everything is going as well as it can.

[Modric] Do you think that under the present circumstances, a new Yugoslav agreement can be reached and a catastrophe can be avoided?

[Mesic] Possibly, on condition that everyone accepts the use of well-argued facts and not force. The last vote taken at the SFRY Presidency showed that most people in Yugoslavia are in favor of a peaceful and democratic resolution of the crisis and there is no reason whatsoever for us not to achieve this despite the resistance.

Markovic Claims Right To Resign Is Universal

AU2003163891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Nebojsa Petrovic, Milorad Jovic, and Dragan Mihovic report]

[Excerpt] The delegates of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber have adopted several proposed laws. The most important of them are amendments to the Law on the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia, the law on the agency for the financial rescue of banks, as well as the law on temporary restrictions to public spending. Prime Minister Ante Markovic addressed the delegates after the adoption of some of the laws proposed by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] was adjourned.

[Reporter] The prime minister said that until last September, there had been a chance for Yugoslavia to implement its economic reform at the smallest possible cost. This obviously did not suit some people, Markovic said. If the laws on the National Bank of Yugoslavia and on the federal bonds are also adopted, and if the Federal Budget is (?regulated), that would create all conditions for the normal functioning of Yugoslavia during the transitional period and getting financial aid from abroad. Ante Markovic also presented FEC stands on the ways to solve the current crisis in Yugoslavia. These stands can be briefly summed up as advocating democracy and parliamentarianism:

[Begin Markovic recording] Within this framework and on the basis of these orientations, during all these days, including the days deemed to be the days of crisis, that is

12-15 March, the FEC has been functioning very consistently and in conformity with the rights, duties, and obligations it has according to the law and Constitution.

I may say that the FEC has been functioning continuously, day and night, and that it has been holding the situation in its hands to the extent to which it had the instruments to do so. It also advocated that all problems in the SFRY Presidency should also be solved in a democratic way.

(?Irrespective of all this), any member of a body can decide that he cannot remain a member of that body, and that applies to any institution including the FEC, the Presidency, as well as this Assembly. This is his personal, human, political, moral, and any other kind of right. That institution must function until that member is replaced by another person. As far as the Presidency is concerned, we are of the opinion that along with a number of other things, there are two which must made workable. One of them is that the Presidency must be capable of adopting laws as temporary measures in the cases when it must do so according to the Constitution to avoid delays in the functioning of the system. Second, the Presidency must function as the Supreme Command. This is why the FEC has been advocating that the SFRY Presidency must continue functioning, and is advocating that talks should be held in the SFRY Presidency with presidents of all republics or the republican presidencies, depending on the functions individual republics have according to their constitutions. These talks, which should include the president of the Assembly and the president of the FEC, should be continued tomorrow and thus the search for ways out of the crisis in our country and talks on the future of the country should be continued. [end recording] [passage omitted]

POLITIKA Proposes Editorial Changes

AU1903163291 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 91 p 6

[Conclusions adopted by the POLITIKA editorial staff at the meeting held in Belgrade on 16 March: "Support Given to Further Improvement of the Paper"]

[Excerpts] The members of the POLITIKA editorial staff held a meeting the day before yesterday that lasted several hours and was dedicated to improvements in editorial policies and practices. In a very democratic atmosphere, a great number of journalists expressed their opinion on the current achievements of the paper, paying special attention to the examination of the editorial policy.

In addition to some critical remarks regarding reports on certain events and some professional mistakes, the majority of journalists stressed the fact that with its activities POLITIKA has greatly contributed and is still contributing toward democratic processes in Serbia, thus serving the interests of the Serbian nation, creating the united states of Serbia, and fighting for the preservation of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

After almost six hours of democratic discussion, the conclusions proposed by the political section were unanimously adopted. These conclusions were also fully supported by the journalists members of the independent POLITIKA union. The meeting was held at the initiative of the Independent Journalists' Union, the political section, and POLITIKA's director and chief and responsible editor. The conclusions of this meeting were:

1. We adopt the report that was submitted by POLITIKA's director and editor in chief at the meeting of the editorial staff on 15 March on the separation of the function of the director and the chief editor and about placing an advertisement for the post of the chief editor of POLITIKA;

2. To accelerate and complete in the shortest legally specified period the procedure of electing the chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA, on Monday we will advertise this post in the paper;

3. The editor in chief should be a professional journalist from the ranks of the NIP [Newspaper Publishing Company] Politika supported by the editorial staff. The paper's employees should constantly be informed about the main work and consultations. The members of the commission for processing applications must be elected by a secret ballot carried out among the editorial staff of POLITIKA. (It was agreed that this demand be coordinated with the legal procedure);

5. [Number as published] The editor in chief chosen in such a way must elect his editorial team that must also have the support of the editorial staff as a whole and of every section in particular;

6. In the editorial board of POLITIKA we must overcome all divisions, arguments, mutual accusations, and avoid at any price the atmosphere in which great editorial changes [spremanje] will be interpreted as revengeful;

7. All journalists of the editorial staff must immediately be fully engaged in and assigned to the jobs and tasks according to their professional ability, journalistic knowledge, and the needs of the paper;

8. Unanimous support was given to the proposal put by the members of the POLITIKA's Independent Journalist's Union to abandon the peaceful protest of the journalists of the aforementioned trade union that was scheduled for Monday [18 march] at 1400 outside the POLITIKA building. The editorial staff also supported the proposal of the members of the Independent Journalists' Union of POLITIKA to organize a discussion forum in the Youth Hall instead of the intended peaceful protest.

The editorial staff has also adopted a report by a representative of the Independent Union in which it was said that as far as the members of the union are concerned,

they do not insist on resignations, because they consider them a matter of personal decision of each individual. [passage omitted]

Army Plans To Resolve Crisis Examined

AU1903142791 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 91 p 3

[HINA commentary: "Between Rifle Butts and Paragraphs"]

[Excerpt] Zagreb—Yugoslavia's state crisis is worsening by the day and is obviously entering its final stage, thus making the possibilities and ways of resolving it a popular topic for discussion. All of us and the foreign and domestic public have been presented with only two clearly outlined possible ways out of this situation, which is already unbearable for all peoples and citizens: the way of a democratic and peaceful solution or the way of political and military violence against citizens and peoples.

The responsible state services of the Republic of Croatia have for months been warning of the danger of all the actions and initiatives of certain military-political circles that would like to impose a solution to the crisis through force. We learned today that such initiatives and proposals are even being submitted to the highest state services of the SFRY. Part of the political and military circles in the leadership of the Yugoslav state has already come forward with a proposed decision to institute a state of emergency on the whole territory of the SFRY and to suspend all the regulative acts that have been adopted since the democratic and free elections in most of the republics in the federal state. Certain political and military circles are trying with all their might to usurp power, destroy all the democratic achievements, and suspend all legally elected bodies not only in the democratically-oriented republics, but they are also endeavoring to bypass and suspend even certain federal legislative bodies and institutions, including the Federal Executive Council, the Assembly, and even the SFRY Presidency itself. The proponents of the demand for instituting a state of emergency are trying violently and aggressively to present all the peoples of Yugoslavia and the whole international public with a fait accompli and to impudently ignore the basic rights of citizens and peoples.

On behalf of the supposed salvation of Yugoslavia, they are pushing it into final collapse with such actions and the forcing of violent solutions.

On behalf of supposed civil peace and peace among the peoples of Yugoslavia, the strategists, planners, and possible instigators of the state of emergency are using their policy of force and violent solutions to the political crisis to push all the citizens and peoples of Yugoslavia on to the road of stirring up civil and interethnic conflicts. They do not offer peace to the citizens, but disquietude, terrible insecurity, and an uncertain future. [passage omitted]

SDA Criticizes Serbia's 'Cheap Political Aims'

AU1803164491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Isak Slezovic report]

[Text] Concerning the resignation of SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, the headquarters of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] in Novi Pazar thinks that the explanation for the resignation is extremely unbelievable because the real reasons are quite different.

[Slezovic] Even before Jovic's resignation, the SDA for Serbia demanded that President Jovic be called to account at the beginning of the unrest in Belgrade and had demanded the initiation of criminal proceedings for putting Army units on the streets. The reasons for Jovic's resignation conceal his firm stand that he represented in the state Presidency.

This party also reacted today to the decision by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to increase the number of militiamen in Sandzak, for which the party's secretary Rasim Jajic claims there are no real reasons.

[Begin Jajic recording] Attempts are being made to impose on the Muslim people collective guilt for all the problems in Serbia and attempts are also being made to artificially impose a conflict between two peoples. The policy of the police baton has not achieved any results whatsoever in Serbia for the last three years but has, on the contrary, brought Serbia to an economic abyss. This move will put an even greater burden on the state coffers while all this is for the sake of cheap political aims. [end recording]

SDA headquarters appealed to the population of Sandzak for peace, dignity, and civil obedience to reveal, in the best way, the intentions of a regime that has put Serbia into a position of political isolation and national ghettoization.

Drnovsek Views Country's Future Organization

AU1703215491 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 91 p 15

[Interview with Slovene Federal Presidency Member Janez Drnovsek by Davor Maric; place and date not given: "I Believe in the Yugoslav Agreement, Although It Looks Impossible"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Maric] After the Sarajevo presidency session, you told local television that you were tipping the idea promoted by Alija Izetbegovic, an asymmetric agreement according to which Slovenia and Croatia would loosely be linked to the rest of the federation.

[Drnovsek] I said on Sarajevo television that at that session we discussed for the first time the option about asymmetric linking of our republics. Moreover, during

the session I myself proposed this alternative as a possible way out or a formula for an agreement. So far all parties in the talks have only presented their own positions, and have never had a solution that could encompass the different positions taken by the republics. In Sarajevo we at least partially tried to find such a formula.

The aforementioned alternative proceeds from the positions known so far: Slovenia and Croatia have already opted for independence, but are prepared for a confederation or some similar link with other republics. The other four republics have so far been in favor of a federation, though in different ways, or at least remaining in a common state founded on the independence and equality of the republics. This provides a formula: an independent status for Slovenia and Croatia that would be linked in a confederal way with the other four republics, which would on the other hand be more closely linked, possibly in a federation. What is important is to respect the principle of the inviolability of the republican borders. [passage omitted]

[Maric] I would call the concept that you presented a consentaneous secession of Slovenia (and Croatia). When you addressed the Slovene Assembly with this idea last week—saying that representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army do not object to it—Dr. Ciril Ribicic indirectly disagreed with you. He thinks that it is an illusion to believe that those who are trying to talk Slovenia into leaving Yugoslavia would want to sanction this in the law, because this is a part of the tactics for subjugating first Croatia and then Slovenia.

[Drnovsek] Proceeding from the fact that the plebiscite on independence was held and that the Slovene Assembly has in many respects changed the legal system of the republic—to the extent that it is increasingly finding itself in a collision with the federal system—I suggested to the Slovene Assembly to make an important move. The essence of this move lies in the sanctioning of Slovenia's new status with an agreement with others. Slovenia has already made several moves that could be described as unilateral. This is why I asked the Slovene Assembly to legally regulate its relations with other republics and the federation with some kind of agreement on all mutual relations, because the current situation is leading toward further conflicts and tensions between the federation and the republics.

[Maric] What would be the essence of such an agreement?

[Drnovsek] Slovenia would inform other republics and the Yugoslav federation that it is in some kind of transitional period and that it has already introduced some specific things. We would also stress that we wish to regulate all interethnic accounts so nobody's interests are affected, and that we want to continue negotiations with other republics on a possible union of our republics, of course, proceeding from the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia as determined by the plebiscite. By regulating our mutual relations with the rest of the country in such a way, we would put a stop to the legal confusion and uncertainty that exist among our enterprises and citizens, and establish a stable situation on the basis of agreements and not confrontations.

[Maric] To what extent can this be achieved considering that the advocates of a modern federation rejected the legality of the Slovene plebiscite in Sarajevo.

[Drnovsek] I think that it is now clear that nobody is denying the right to self-determination any longer; therefore, the rejections of the Slovene plebiscite, which can still occasionally be heard, should be treated as tactics rather than a real attempt to put a stop to or negate the incipient processes. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Slovene President Visit to Germany

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For reportage on the visit by Slovene President Milan Kucan to Germany, including a report on his talks with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, see the Germany section of the 20 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Croatian Government Reviews Federal Obligations

AU1603190091 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 91 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Settled Accounts With the Federation"]

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Mar—This year we should break with the current method of financing the federation. Croatia] will "cover" the agreed minimum common requirements at the federal level with fixed contributions.

This is the latest stand of the Croatian Assembly. It is estimated that the greatest possible expenditure of the federal budget for 1991 could amount to 88 billion dinars, or about 50 percent less than is being demanded. A quarter of the expenditure, i.e. obligations, would fall on Croatia.

Until the final agreement about a new organization of the country is reached, the government believes that the common expenditure can only comprise the money for the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], although considerably less than was foreseen by the federal budget for this year; the money for disabled war veterans' security in accordance with federal regulations; and the money for financing the work of the services for internal affairs, again less than was originally planned. The republican government proposes that the republics and provinces independently determine all other expenses and policies concerning the financial injections in the economy and social welfare, and the financial consolidation of the banking system. The government holds the view that customs duties and import taxes are primary sources of revenue for the republic, which will as of 1 March be paid into the federal budget as an advance on the fixed contribution, after the tax on imported cars and printing

paper has been deducted. All revenue from the basic sales tax realized on Croatian territory will belong to the republican budget as its primary source of income.

Regarding the financing of development in the underdeveloped republics and provinces, Croatia thinks that it is not in the position to pay more money than it did last year. The development of the underdeveloped regions can only be based on mutual economic interests, while respecting the principles of property relations and the market economy.

It appears that the reduced "coverage" of the federal budget should also be followed by the drawing up of "sharing balances" to establish "settled (economic) accounts" among the republics and provinces. Most difficulties are expected to arise in dividing internal and external debts of Yugoslavia, and dividing the property and assets of the federation and its entities.

The republican assembly should soon adopt a stand on the views of the republican government regarding the federation's minimum functions and their financing.

LC-MY Leader Explains Party's Positions

AU1903182591 Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 91 p 5

[Interview with Dragan Atanasovski, president of the Yugoslav Committee of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, by Stojanka Bobicic; place and date not given: "We Are a Yugoslav, Not an Army Party"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Bobicic] Some people think that the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia [LC-MY] is the successor of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, others that it is a military party.

[Atanasovski] Our organization is a normal political organization that has members all over Yugoslavia. It is neither a supranational nor a national party. Our party is the successor of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia only to the extent that it bases its program on the positive experiences of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the world communist movement. Therefore, we do not consider ourselves to be some kind of cat's paw of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

We neither feel like a military party, nor can we be a military party. We are glad that the League of Communists in the Army has recommended that its members join our party individually, in view of our program orientations. This is probably being done to some extent, but we do not have any information about that simply because we do not keep such records. Our party members are registered according to the territory.

[Bobicic] We are therefore talking about an independent party.

[Atanasovski] We are an independent party with our own program and statute.

[Bobicic] How do you then explain the statement made by the Political Department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense that states that everything should be done so that the LC-MY becomes a leading party in the country in five or six months time?

[Atanasovski] I would rather say that this is a prediction that we will become the strongest party in the country, which we are very glad about. Our predictions are the same. [passage omitted]

[Bobicic] How many members do you have?

[Atanasovski] About 450,000.

[Bobicic] Where are your branches?

[Atanasovski] Everywhere, in Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia.

[Bobicic] How are you accepted in Slovenia and Croatia?

[Atanasovski] Relatively well considering the situation in Slovenia. We think that we will very soon become the strongest party in both Slovenia and Croatia. [passage omitted]

[Bobicic] Is a coalition of the left oriented parties in your view possible in Yugoslavia?

[Atanasovski] We want to create a coalition in a form of a movement for Yugoslavia. We do not want to be anybody's tutor, but want to unite all left-wing forces on the program tenets favoring Yugoslavia and a unified Yugoslav People's Army as the guarantor of peace, freedom, and the independence of our citizens and our country.

[Bobicic] You probably have your own economic program?

[Atanasovski] Yes, it is being prepared. [passage omitted]

[Bobicic] What are you attitudes towards the Army? The Army leadership is obviously with you.

[Atanasovski] The military leadership is not with us. It would be sad if the military leadership were supporting any political party. The views of the military leadership are perhaps identical with the stands and program orientations of our party. Finally, our aim is the same: a unified Yugoslavia as a democratic community of all peoples and nationalities and all citizens of Yugoslavia. What is also important is that we support the concept of the all people's defense and the unified JNA as the guarantor of peace and freedom of our citizens and the independence of our country.

[Bobicic] The opposition and particularly western press claim that you are preparing Branko Mamula [former defense minister] for Tito's successor. Is this true?

[Atanasovski] It is evident that in our system the opposition has every right and that it can says what it wants. Therefore, we cannot prohibit anybody from saying what they want. These claims are far from reality.

[Bobicic] How does you party view the latest events in Yugoslavia, particularly the "dissociation" of Slovenia and Croatia?

[Atanasovski] Regarding these events, we think that all leaderships in Yugoslavia have legitimately been elected in multiparty elections. We do not question anybody's legitimacy. Concerning Yugoslavia, we think that no republican leadership, regardless of the majority with which it has been elected (some majority with which some leadership have won the elections is questionable), can speak on behalf of all of its citizens. Therefore, deciding about the most important questions, and in this case about the burning issues of Yugoslavia and the future shape of Yugoslavia as a community of the Yugoslav citizens, peoples, and nationalities, we think that the current leaderships, in this case those of Slovenia and Croatia, can participate in the work on the proposal about the way we are going to live. We are categorical in that the peoples of Yugoslavia, that is, the citizens of Yugoslavia, must directly decide on the most important question: what kind of Yugoslavia do you want to live in. Not leaderships. The people have not authorized anybody to do that. [passage omitted]